The Outlook

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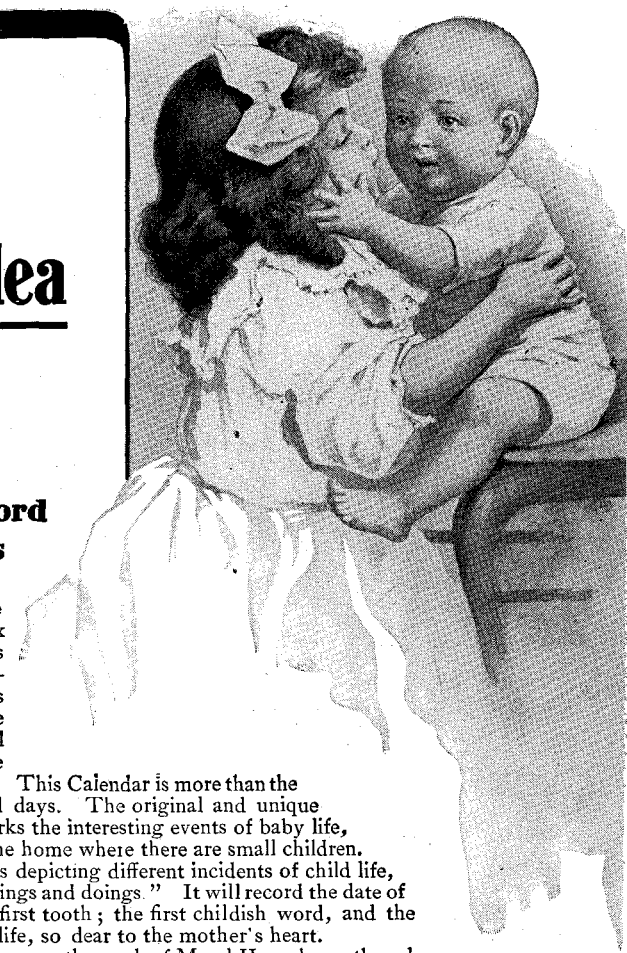

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The Outlook

SATURDAY, OCTOBER 29, 1904

Campaign Progress: Issues and Portents

In a closely contested Presidential election the business world usually reflects uneasiness. The prices of securities sag and business halts. These things are not true of this campaign. An air of contentment pervades city as well as rural populations. The New York "Herald," which had been supporting Judge Parker, practically conceded the election of Mr. Roosevelt last week, and the New York "American," owned by Mr. Hearst, Judge Parker's principal opponent for the nomination, said the "Herald" was right, and Parker would be defeated unless he made the trusts the issue. The Philippines issue having failed to create an impression, Panama is forging to the front. Last week Senator Culberson, of Texas, produced as "the surprise" of the campaign a letter which President Roosevelt wrote to Dr. Albert Shaw a year ago. The letter, with the possible exception of one sentence, has been published before. It is now being produced for the purpose of giving an impression that the Administration was guilty of complicity in the Panama revolution. The letter was written on October 10, after rumors of possible secession on the part of Panama were rife. (See The Outlook for September 19, 1903.) After dismissing the proposition to go to Nicaragua for the canal, the President thus rejects the idea of alienating territory:

> I cast aside the proposition made at this time to foment the secession of Panama. Whatever other Governments can do, the United States cannot go into the securing by such underhand means the cession. Privately, I freely say to you that I should be delighted if Panama were an independent State, or if it made itself so at this moment; but for me to say so publicly would amount to an instigation of a revolt, and therefore I cannot say it.

How such a direct statement that he did cast aside the proposition (made again and again in the newspapers) to foment the secession of Panama can be interpreted to signify that he did not cast it aside, no one has yet vouchsafed to explain. But the more experienced Democratic campaigners do not think Panama will prove a winning issue, because the Democratic Senators (and they had this letter before them at the time) voted to ratify the treaty, and most of the Democratic newspapers approved the President's course. On the tariff question the Republicans are already meeting the cry of increased prices by asking whether the Democratic party can be trusted to remedy existing conditions in view of Judge Parker's statement that the Democrats probably cannot control both houses of Congress or revise the tariff. They are also dwelling on the "hard times" which followed the election of the last Democratic President. The assaults on Mr. Cortelyou, the Chairman of the Republican National Committee, have been abandoned, and Mr. Taggart, the Chairman of the Democratic National Committee, has once more left his post and gone to his native State of Indiana, where it is said he will remain until election day.

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Mr. Bryan and Mr. Cleveland

Just as Mr. Bryan ended his speech-making tour of Indiana, Mr. Cleveland made his only appearance as a campaign speaker in New York. The contrast between these two Democratic leaders is as striking as ever. In one respect, however, they are most emphatically alike, in contrast with many political leaders: they are both uncompromising in the enunciation of their own convictions. Mr. Bryan in his tour made no pretense of being converted from the radical views for which he has stood. On the other hand, Mr. Cleveland as explicitly reaffirmed his belief in the particular form of Democracy

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which he represents. He expressed his pleasure in breathing "the pleasant atmosphere of resolute and harmonious Democracy," and acknowledged "the generous support of the business men of New York," representatives of the forces against which Mr. Bryan had aligned his party. The most effective portion of Mr. Cleveland's speech was that in which he took the Republicans to task for claiming "all the virtues, all the patriotism, and all the governing ability of our citizenship," and presuming to be "the donors of the gifts of God," pluming themselves upon the creation of all the Nation's prosperity. Mr. Cleveland's speech was dignified. This and the enthusiastic greeting which he received made of the gathering at which he appeared the most striking Democratic meeting so far.

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Two Speeches from Judge Parker

Mr. Parker has departed from his custom and has made two speeches in one week. The first speech was in advocacy of economy. Having been called upon to specify in what particulars he would reduce expenses, he stated at first that he would certainly not cut off the pensions. He answered with equal explicitness that the Democratic party "most assuredly" would "reduce the cost of the army." He declared that by abandoning "the rôle of the big policeman in the South American States" the Government would not need as large an army as it now supports. He would also reduce the "civil and miscellaneous expenses of the Government." He repeated his statement as to the waste of $650,000,000 on the Philippines, and referred to the speeches of Senators and Representatives in Congress and to a letter by Edward Atkinson as his authorities. It is hard to believe that Mr. Parker, who has been a Judge, really accepts the statements of advocates as undeniable truth. For further specifications he said the country would have to wait until a "Democratic Administration has had a chance to examine the books." The other speech which he made was on the tariff. In this he denied that protection, as now in vogue, is that which even Hamilton advocated; for that was only for the purpose of promoting such manufactures "as will tend to render the United States independent of foreign nations for military and other essential supplies." He traced the history of the tariff through its various stages, quoted Republican opinion adverse to high rates of duty, and reviewed the failures to reduce such duties. He argued for the reduction of the tariff as a matter of "justice to consumers," and as a remedy "that can be applied to the combinations or trusts which owe their existence to excessive tariff duties." He urged that the work of revision should be undertaken "at once." On Monday he spoke deploring the political influence of corporations.

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The Mission of Secretary Taft to Panama

The project of building a canal through the territory of another nation and of exercising over the region traversed the authority necessary for the completion of the canal lays upon the United States a duty at once great and delicate. In order that the people of the Republic of Panama may be assured that our intentions are in no respect inimical to their interests, the President has authorized Secretary Taft, of the War Department, under whose province the building of the canal comes, to visit Panama in person and to hold a conference with the President of the Republic and other governmental authorities. The President in his letter to Secretary Taft explicitly says:

> We have not the slightest intention of establishing an independent colony in the middle of the State of Panama, or of exercising any greater governmental functions than are necessary to enable us conveniently and safely to construct, maintain, and operate the canal under the rights given us by the treaty. Least of all do we desire to interfere with the business and prosperity of the people of Panama. However far a just construction of the treaty might enable us to go, did the exigencies of the case require it, in asserting the equivalent of sovereignty over the canal strip, it is our full intention that the rights which we exercise shall be exercised with all proper care for the honor and interests of the people of Panama.

Señor Obaldia, the Minister from Panama, expressed great satisfaction at the

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proposed visit of Secretary Taft. Indeed, the announcement of the visit was made only after a conference in which Señor Obaldia took part. In addition to the reassurance which Secretary Taft's presence on the Isthmus will bring to those inclined to suspect the purposes of the United States, the acquaintance at first hand which Secretary Taft will make with the conditions obtaining on the Isthmus will more than justify such an expedition. The value of his knowledge of Philippine affairs in his administration of the War Department has been unquestioned. This journey to Panama will now add to Secretary Taft's unique equipment for the administration of his department.

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The Results of the Slocum Disaster

When the steamboat General Slocum was burned last summer with an appalling loss of life, and it was found that the accident was largely due to the careless and possibly criminal neglect of the United States Steamboat Inspectors, public opinion throughout the United States vigorously demanded that the Administration should dismiss the guilty officials and thoroughly reform the inspection service. It was natural that, in its horror at the suffering and loss of life, the public should be eager for the instant punishment of the neglectful officials. In this country, and even in Great Britain and Europe, the fact that the inspectors were not at once dismissed and punished was made the basis, here for severe criticism of the Administration, and abroad for severe criticism of democratic government in the United States. Such eager criticism is made in forgetfulness of the fact that Government investigations and reforms must necessarily move somewhat slowly, on account of the legal procedure involved. That the National Government has taken the Slocum disaster very seriously, and has pursued its investigation and put in motion its reforms energetically, is proved by the dismissal from service of the culpable inspectors during the past week. General James A. Dumont, Chief Inspector of Hulls for the Port of New York, Thomas H. Barrett, Chief Inspector of Boilers, and Robert S. Rodie, Supervising Inspector of Steamboats, have all been dismissed. If they are not legally punished, as perhaps they cannot be, at all events they suffer the social punishment of knowing that they leave their offices under a cloud, and with the obloquy of a general public belief that they have betrayed the interests of life and safety committed to their charge. That the Government proposes to have the Department of Steam-Vessel Inspection in this district conducted ably and honorably is shown by the appointment, announced this week, of Ira Harris as Supervising Inspector to succeed discharged Inspector Rodie. Mr. Harris is a graduate of the Naval Academy at Annapolis, attained the rank of lieutenant-commander in the navy, resigned to enter private business, re-entered the naval service during the Spanish-American War, and performed at that time, especially in the transport service, his duty as supervising engineer and inspector in such a way as to win widespread approval. His appointment has been warmly recommended by naval officers and men of high standing engaged in maritime commerce in this city. The appointment is apparently entirely free from political bias of any kind. The people whose safety depends upon proper steamboat inspection have a right to require that the promise of administrative efficiency made by this appointment shall be fulfilled.

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The Canteen Again

Those who have paid any attention to the accumulating testimony of army officers will not be surprised at the report of Brigadier-General Burton, the Inspector-General of the Army, that the "abolition of the canteen leads to sickness, desertion and other crimes, as well as to impaired discipline." The policy of abolition has now been tried as an experiment for a sufficient length of time to justify a rational judgment as to the results. And the result is that closing the canteen promotes drunkenness and impairs the general moral tone of the army. It does this by denying to the enlisted soldier the social fellowship

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which in clubs and beer saloons his civilian fellow-citizens enjoy, and to which he has been accustomed. It denies to him also a liberty which his officers freely exercise. To be thus treated like a boy who is unable to control himself and regulate his own diet irritates him, and it does not lessen the irritation to be told that this is done at the demand of a woman's organization. No full-grown man likes to have the limits of his liberty determined for him by women. Finding his club within the camp closed to him, or his liberties in that club so curtailed that he cares for it as a resort no longer, he seeks social fellowship in the disreputable saloons which cluster about a camp, and in the hangers-on who follow after and feed upon an army. It is not to be wondered at that the result is drunkenness, disorder, and general demoralization. Of course those who think that all drinking is a sin will still oppose the canteen on the ground that it is never right to countenance sin, no matter what the consequences of discountenancing it. But those who agree with The Outlook that drinking is not a sin, and that drunkenness is, will agree in opposing a policy which, according to the nearly unanimous testimony of observers, has had the effect to increase drunkenness. In our judgment, the next Congress should re-establish the canteen in the interest of temperance and the general moral welfare of the soldiers in the regular army.

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The Financial Outlook

A significant warning was conveyed in Frank A. Vanderlip's address on the business outlook delivered before the Illinois Bankers' Association, in session at St. Louis. Examining the finances, the commerce, and the production of the country, Mr. Vanderlip gave it as his belief that "the possibilities of another great business expansion are at hand," but saw occasion to fear a revival of the reckless speculation that had brought about the declines of the past two years and the depression of business. For this view he found justification in the rapid rise of Stock Exchange prices, looked upon in some quarters as a recovery to the natural price level rather than a fresh advance, but deprecated by him as being in excess of what would be warranted by the present actual conditions, business being in many ways unsatisfactory. Impressing upon his hearers their responsibilities as representatives of a potent force in influencing "the beginning, the extent, and the length of this next period of prosperity," he urged the adoption of a conservative policy. "Encouragement to a wild speculative boom at this time, when improvement is justified more by hopes and possibilities than by immediate actual conditions, might set the whole period of recovery back a month, six months, a year. A great speculative boom now is not what is needed. It is, indeed, one of the special dangers. If bankers in the great centers are unconservative in the inducements they hold out to secure deposits, and accumulate great stocks of money which will loan at such low rates as to encourage unduly a speculative spirit, they will strike a blow at this returning prosperity which may long delay its coming." The special significance of the last sentence quoted lies in the fact that the speaker, as Vice-President of the National City Bank of New York, is regarded as having given expression to the views of the strong financial interests represented by that institution, and the inference is drawn that it has been determined to put the brakes on any extravagantly speculative movement. The desirability of devising and executing a policy which will preclude inflation of values and overstrain of bank reserves is obvious. A striking commentary on the latter point is afforded by Mr. Vanderlip's closing appeal to the bankers of the country to remember that no new law of finance whereby banking without reserves may be made safe and conservative has been discovered.

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The British Iron and Steel Institute

During the closing days of October and the first ten days of November the British Iron and Steel Institute, to the number of 350 members—besides many ladies—is to make

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a tour of the iron and steel plants of New York State, Pennsylvania, and Ohio. It is fourteen years since the Institute last came to this country. In 1890, as in 1904, it came at the invitation of Mr. Carnegie, who has long been a most active member, and who this year is President—an office which in previous years has been held by such distinguished metallurgists as Sir Lothian Bell and Sir James Kitson, who formerly represented Leeds in the House of Commons, and was President of the National Liberal Federation. Much that was new and surprising to the members of the Institute awaited them in 1890, when the tour was much longer than this year; for in 1890 the Institute went as far South as Birmingham, Alabama; as far to the Northwest as the Mesaba Range, at the head of the Lakes; and as far to the North as the nickel mines at Lake Nipissing in western Ontario. Much more awaits them this year. In the intervening fourteen years the United States has taken the first place among the iron and steel producing countries; Germany has taken second place; and England ranks only third. When the Institute was last here, the new American navy — that which dates from 1885—consisted of only six unarmored cruisers; and there were not more than three ship-yards on the coast or on the Great Lakes at which iron vessels were built. To-day the United States navy ranks fourth among the navies of the world, and there are thirty first-class steel ship-building yards on the Atlantic and Pacific coasts and on the Great Lakes; and excepting the cruisers bought in Europe at the outbreak of the Cuban War, all the battlements and armored cruisers now of the navy have been built at American ship-yards, and armored and equipped with ordnance from American steel plants.

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The United States Steel Production

The McKinley tariff had just gone into effect when the Institute made its last visit, and many of the members regarded it as the only obstacle in the way of their doing a large trade with this country in steel rails, tin plates, and other iron and steel products. Since 1897 the United States has been shipping steel rails to Great Britain and to all the larger British colonies, and pig iron and steel billets to Lancashire and South Wales. In this period also locomotives from Philadelphia and Schenectady have gone to England, to India, to South Africa, and to Australia; and American locomotive-builders, as the St. Louis Exposition shows, have come to lead the world in the development of locomotives adapted to modern railroad conditions. This story of American progress in the industry in which the Institute is most interested could be continued almost indefinitely. Mention might be made of the general introduction into American cities of steel-frame buildings. America has pioneered this development in architecture, and has introduced it into Cape Town and Johannesburg and into other large cities in British colonies. It has also led the way in the use of steel in the construction of subways—underground railways, as they are called in England. What America has achieved in these various ways since the Institute was with us in 1890 will be brought home to its members while they are in New York, Philadelphia, Pittsburg, Cleveland, and Buffalo. But perhaps the greatest achievement of all remains still to be mentioned; for the introduction of automatic machinery has freed the work at the great modern steel plants of the dangerous, exhausting, grimy, and brutalizing toil which in 1890 was common to the iron and steel industries of both countries; and here again it was American invention and American genius for labor-saving which led the way.

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Civic Day at the World's Fair

Civic Day at the Louisiana Purchase Exposition was a distinct success, not only from the point of numbers, but from the character of the papers. Representative officials from the National Municipal League, the League of American Municipalities, the American Civic Association, and the American Society of Municipal Improvements were present, and in a series of striking utterances outlined the aims and accomplishments

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of their various organizations. There was also a series of papers dealing with the civic problem from the sociological, political, legal, religious, improvement, and administrative points of view. The real significance of the whole meeting, however, was the manifestation of good will among the various bodies, indicating the high purposes and resolves of the several bodies in their effort to improve municipal conditions in America. The National Municipal League, composed mainly of public-spirited citizens, of which its President, Charles J. Bonaparte, is an excellent type, has concerned itself mainly with administrative reforms like charter revision, uniform municipal accounting, nomination reform, municipal taxation, and with the educational side of the work. The League of American Municipalities is composed of cities that are from year to year represented by their mayors and councilmen. Upwards of one hundred cities belong, and questions of municipal policy are most frequently discussed. Former Mayor James M. Head, of Nashville, Tennessee, President during the past year, a vigorous, public-spirited, and zealous public official, is a fair type of this group of men who have sought so earnestly to increase their knowledge so as the better to serve their constituents. The American Civic Association concerns itself with the growing list of improvement topics, including the direction of the awakened sense of local pride and desire for betterment. Cleaner and better streets, parks, public recreation, the suppression of nuisances, social settlements, railroad improvements, are some of the subjects within the scope of its activities, and J. Horace McFarland, its President, typifies and represents the Association. The American Society of Municipal Improvements is composed mainly of engineers and those actually charged with constructive work, and Charles Carroll Brown, its first Vice-President, may be mentioned as representing its aims and aspirations for improved technical and constructive work. That these bodies united in a Civic Day, that they have taken the first step in co-operation for larger usefulness, are auspicious facts, and the reports of work accomplished constitute an encouraging and hopeful record. Mr. John A. Butler, of Milwaukee, the Chairman of the Committee of Arrangements, was the presiding officer.

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The Congregational Council

The triennial meeting of the National Council of Congregational Churches at Des Moines, Iowa, October 13–20, was in every way the most remarkable meeting which has been held in the history of American Congregationalism. It seemed to mark the beginning of a new era in the progress of the denomination. The attendance was larger than ever before, the addresses as a whole were more notable, the spiritual tone more pronounced, and the consciousness of a noble mission more evident. By nearly, if not quite all, this condition was recognized as chiefly due to the new interpretation of the Moderator's duties by the retiring Moderator, the Rev. A. H. Bradford, of Montclair, New Jersey. Dr. Bradford has endeavored to be the servant of all the churches during the three years from the time of his election until his successor was chosen. He has changed the traditional idea of a Congregational Moderator from that of merely presiding at meetings to that of a ministry at large. Spending one-third of his time among the churches, he has exerted a unifying and quickening influence. His right to do so had been challenged by a few, and it was evident that this interpretation would be contested at the Council. When the matter came up, Dr. Bradford was sustained by an overwhelming majority, and thus a great step forward was taken in the direction of unification, without in the slightest degree invading the liberty of the local churches. It was natural, when such a conclusion was known to be inevitable, that the Council should seek as a successor of Dr. Bradford a Moderator whose ability and spiritual character would command the confidence of all the churches. That man was found in Washington Gladden, D.D., of Ohio, who is one of the foremost figures in the ecclesiastical and social life of our country. Thus, at the beginning of the Council, it was decided

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that a policy which has in an unparalleled way united the churches should be continued. The Hon. J. H. Perry, of Connecticut, was elected First Assistant Moderator. The address of Dr. Bradford, the retiring Moderator, on "The Continuous Leadership of the Holy Spirit," was intended to strike the keynote of the Council, and from the first session until the last all addresses and papers bore upon the realization of the divine life in the individual, in the Church, in the State, and in the world. The programme had to do with life rather than machinery; with large and inspiring themes rather than with ecclesiastical technicalities.

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The Meetings Never before have the Council and the Missionary Societies met together, but at Des Moines the National Council and all the Missionary Societies, except the American Board, held joint meetings, and the plan was a success from start to finish. Nearly every phase of the common work was thus presented to delegates from every part of the Nation and from many foreign lands. The reports of the Societies in some respects were encouraging and in others discouraging, but no discouraging facts could daunt the prevailing spirit of hopefulness. Some changes in the officers of the Societies were rendered necessary. Dr. Gladden, who succeeded Dr. Bradford as Moderator, was in turn succeeded by Dr. Bradford as President of the American Missionary Association; and Dr. Nehemiah Boynton, of Detroit, was elected as President of the Congregational Home Missionary Society, succeeding President Cyrus Northrup, LL.D., of the University of Minnesota. Concerning the speakers, where all were on so high a level, it is almost invidious to speak. Probably the addresses most talked about were those of the Rev. F. W. Hodgdon, pastor of the church, in welcoming the delegates; the Rev. Charles R. Brown, D.D., of California; the Rev. Lyman Abbott, D.D., the Rev. Charles E. Jefferson, D.D., and the Rev. N. D. Hillis, D.D., of New York; President George A. Gates, D.D., of Southern California, Professor Steiner, of Iowa College, and the Rev. Doremus Scudder, D.D., of Hawaii. But equally worthy of mention were many others whose subjects were less popular, or who were less favorably placed on the programme. A notable address at one of the women's meetings was by Mrs. Booker T. Washington, who spoke hopefully of the condition of the colored women of the South. Perhaps the most striking fact brought out by any of the speakers on Home Missions was by Mr. Puddefoot, who contended that the real frontier is no longer in the Far West, but in the East, where hundreds of thousands of immigrants are steadily disembarking and settling.

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Results and Impressions It was voted to take steps looking toward immediate union with the United Brethren and the Methodist Protestants, and to begin conferences on the same subject with the Free Baptists; to appoint a committee to consider the feasibility of the unification of all the Congregational Benevolent Societies; to regard the Moderator as a minister at large for the three years for which he is elected. It was made manifest that Congregationalists have not forgotten their interest in the negro people, for they elected a colored man, the Rev. H. H. Proctor, of Atlanta, Georgia, one of the assistant moderators, and he, in turn, presided with grace and skill; that Congregational clubs are in full sympathy with all wise attempts to improve the condition of the laboring man, for much time was given to this subject; that the churches represented are already in the midst of a great spiritual awakening, and therefore it was not surprising that a representative committee on evangelism was appointed, whose duty it will be to help in extending and deepening the spiritual movement which has so evidently begun. The impression produced by these meetings, attended by thousands, in the large and beautiful Plymouth Church at Des Moines, was that the Congregational churches of the United States have entered an epoch that will probably be characterized by a coming together of the churches in a common life.

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Church Unity in the Episcopal Convention

Perhaps the most significant action of the Episcopal Convention was the passage by both houses of what is known as the Huntington Amendment. Distinctly in the interests of Church unity, the amendment embodies in the constitution of the Church the principle of freedom whereby the liberty of individual bishops to provide forms of worship other than those offered by the Book of Common Prayer is assured. Special forms of prayer will at once be available for certain congregations of foreigners, notably Swedes, who in the Northwest are prepared to unite with the Episcopal Church while retaining for the time their distinctive liturgies; but in the large, as Dr. Huntington pleaded, the movement is catholic, assuring to the bishops their ancient rights of freedom, and enabling them to receive, if desired, congregations of other religious bodies without requiring from the outset the use of the Book of Common Prayer. It has taken the rector of Grace Church some twelve years to overcome the conservative fears of some and the narrow conceptions of others as to the opportunity of the Episcopal Church to become the center of unity for the divided Christianity of America, and to secure this action of the Convention. By the final passage of the Amendment coming to it from San Francisco, the Church ratifies its former action and makes tenable all future overtures toward unity. A resolution in furtherance of unity along extremely practical lines was offered by the Committee on Christian Unity and adopted. It seeks co-operation with other Christian bodies that there may be a better observance of the Lord's Day, a more thorough religious education of children, and united effort for the preservation of the sanctity of marriage.

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Final Divorce Legislation

Early last week the House of Bishops passed the stringent canon outlined in our last issue; again, after a thorough canvass, the House of Deputies rejected it. Passing a "compromise canon," placed before it by its own committee, the House of Deputies sent this canon to the bishops, who for several sessions held out for the rigid canon, preferring not to legislate rather than to sacrifice what its members esteemed to be essential principles. Finally, in special session late on Saturday, the bishops accepted the canon, slightly modifying its provisions. Forbidding the clergy to remarry divorced persons having husband or wife still living, the canon proceeds to set forth that this shall not be held to apply to an innocent party in a divorce for adultery, provided that such party shall have allowed at least one year to elapse before applying for remarriage, and shall also furnish satisfactory evidence and proof, with copies of the decrees of the court granting the divorce, before which the defendant must personally have appeared. This evidence must be laid before the ecclesiastical authority, who shall take legal advice, and give in writing his decision that the case of the applicant conforms to the requirements of the canon. Even with this decision of the bishop before him a minister may, if his conscience disapproves, decline to solemnize any marriage. A disciplinary section assures the administration of the sacraments to penitent persons in danger of death, and to other innocent parties remarried, if the case shall have been first referred to the bishop for his decision. The law requires that these canons be passed by two successive Conventions. The dioceses will have three years in which to detect possible inequalities or insufficiencies in these canons, which, after being amended and passed by the Convention of 1907, will become the permanent law of the Church.

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The Report on Labor

No matter brought before the Convention will interest the outside public so much as the report of the Joint Commission on Capital and Labor. The members of this Committee, Bishops Potter and Anderson, the Rev. Drs. McKim and Hodges, and Mr. Seth Low and Mr. Jacob A. Riis, presented a report so direct in its statements, so comprehensive, and so thoroughly sane that it deserves the widest reading. It needs no com-

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ment, and the only regret of The Outlook is that it cannot publish the report in full. Attention is called to the analogy between certain offenses of the union and like offenses, past and present, of both the capitalist and the churchman. Thus the employer's blacklist corresponds to the union's boycott, and both are akin to the major excommunication. The lockout and the strike are of the same nature, and there is no great difference between such endeavors to employ the argument of famine and an interdict which deprives a people of the blessings of spiritual life:

The question of the closed shop is like the question of the closed State. Men whose Puritan ancestors strove to maintain a State whose privileges should belong only to members of the Church ought to be able to understand the struggle of their brethren to maintain a shop in which no man shall serve except a member of the union. They may not agree with these brethren, but they ought to appreciate their self-sacrifice. The laborer has learned from the capitalist to despise order and break law. He has learned from the churchman to pursue the dissenter with menace and violence. The recent tragedies in Colorado do not follow at a far distance the massacres which in the sixteenth century ensued upon the withdrawal of Holland from the ecclesiastical union. While, then, we condemn the tyranny and turbulence of the labor union, and call upon the law to preserve the liberty of every citizen to employ whom he will and to work for whom he will, we deprecate the hasty temper which, in condemning the errors of the unions, condemns at the same time the whole movement with which they are connected. The offenses of the union are as distinct from the cause for which the organization of labor stands as the inquisition is distinct from the Gospel. In the face of a prejudice and a hostility for which there are serious reasons, we are convinced that the organization of labor is essential to the well-being of the working people. It is based upon a sense of the inestimable value of the individual man. The cause of labor is the effort of men, being men, to live the life of men. Its purpose is to maintain such a standard of wages, hours, and conditions as shall afford every man an opportunity to grow in mind and in heart; without organization the standard cannot be maintained in the midst of our present commercial conditions.

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The Lake Mohonk Indian Conference

The distinctive characteristic of the Lake Mohonk Conference of the Friends of the Indians, last week, was the enlargement of its scope to include the interests of the people in Hawaii, Porto Rico, and the Philippines. Dr. F. W. Atkinson, President of the Brooklyn Polytechnic Institute, who, as Superintendent of Public Instruction in the Philippines, organized the American public-school system there, made a noteworthy contribution to the discussion of the Philippine problem. Although, according to his testimony, the Filipinos cherish an ideal of independence, they are quite incapable of such independence at present, and for some time their dependence upon the United States "must be very real." In the American administration of their affairs "the desire to put their interests first rather than to foster American exploitation has animated the United States Philippine Commission in all its acts." From this view there was no one in the Conference who dissented. Dr. Atkinson also testified that the friendliness between Americans and Filipinos was increasing. Mr. Pepperman, Assistant to the Chief of the Bureau of Insular Affairs of the War Department, noted a distinction between the problem of the savage tribes in the Philippines and that of the Indians in the United States. With the exception of the Moros, he said, these savage tribes are not particularly warlike, they do not combine in large numbers for offensive purposes, and they are welcoming the civilizing influence of the schoolteacher. In regard to the progress of the principle of self-government (which needs to be distinguished from independence), he noted that in the civil service of the general Government the proportion of Americans to Filipinos is that of fifteen hundred to twenty-five hundred, and in the provincial and municipal Governments the numbers were one hundred Americans to fifteen thousand Filipinos. With regard to the Indian, the Conference expressed its satisfaction in the progress toward the ideal for which this Conference has stood and which it has done so much to bring to realization. Commissioner Jones had the satisfaction of calling attention to the decrease in the issuance of rations to Indians, so that now such rations are given only in cases of distress and to the feeble and the aged. This whole-

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some departure from a policy of pauperization is in no small degree an indication of the extent to which the Indians have been rescued from a condition of dependent savagery.

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White Savages and Indian Lands

The New York "Evening Post" reports a murderous attack recently made upon a United States civil officer in Indian Territory, so cowardly and cruel in its nature that it is hard to speak of it calmly. Colonel Charles H. Shepard was sent about a year ago by the Interior Department to the Indian Territory to act as an appraiser in determining the prices which white settlers should pay for land purchased from the Indians of the Choctaw Nation. Readers of The Outlook hardly need to be told that in land transactions the Indians need protection, not only against selfish and swindling white men, but sometimes against the Government officials themselves. In this case, however, the Interior Department, of which the Indian Bureau is a division, took a most commendable step in sending Colonel Shepard on his mission to the Indian Territory. A fine record in the Civil War and in consular service in Japan and England entitles him to special respect as an efficient public officer, and his work in appraising Indian lands has been characterized by an impartial but determined purpose to see that the Indians were justly treated. The people, however, of the section of the Indian Territory to which his work called him appear to have been bent upon extorting the lands from the Indians at the most unfair prices. Colonel Shepard was therefore met with open hostility, which finally resulted in a brutal assault at Hartshorne, Indian Territory, in which it is alleged a well-known landowner was personally involved. We quote a part of the account of the assault:

> Colonel Shepard was permitted to lie in the roadway until he regained consciousness, when, covered with blood and dirt and almost unrecognizable, he managed to crawl to the hotel. Mrs. Shepard, who had accompanied him, was there, and it is reported that she scarcely knew him. As an index of the temper of the population of Hartshorne and the opposition his efforts at justice had aroused, it has been reported to Washington that not a human being raised a hand to help Colonel Shepard while he was dragging himself to the hotel, nor to help Mrs. Shepard after his arrival. . . . Mrs. Shepard realized that he must be taken back to South McAlester at once, and when she reached the railway station she found gathered together a crowd of the Hartshorne people, who jeered at her and laughed at her as she laboriously conducted her injured husband across the platform.

Whether it is true or not, as alleged, that the assault upon Colonel Shepard was prearranged and that the whole community of Hartshorne knew what was to happen, the town and its inhabitants deserve all the opprobrium and scorn with which decent and civilized men regard a community of savage barbarians. It seems almost incredible that a group of American men can be found in any part of the United States so destitute of ordinary human feeling as to laugh and jeer at a devoted wife, overcome with grief, endeavoring to help her wounded husband to a place of safety. The vice of cruelty is the meanest and most hopeless of all vices. That man who gets pleasure or amusement out of human or animal suffering, *per se*, has no avenue left open in his nature by which his better feelings—if he has any better feelings—can be reached. The man who will treat an American woman with cold-blooded cruelty will be sensitive to little less than the unyielding contempt of his fellows and the physical pain of the whipping-post. Until the town of Hartshorne, Indian Territory, takes vigorous measures to punish Colonel Shepard's assailants it will be justly suspected of numbering among its citizens a good many such contemptible men.

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The French Premier Sustained

The reassembling of the French Chamber of Deputies has been promptly followed by a vote sustaining the Premier in his drastic dealings with the Roman Catholic Church by a large majority, after a debate which occupied two days, covering all matters relating to the rupture of diplomatic relations between France and the Vatican. After

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a discussion of great length, M. Combes, replying to the criticisms made in the debate, declared that the rupture of diplomatic relations showed the impossibility of continuing the Concordat between the Church and the State; that the Vatican had sought to discipline the Bishop of Laval before an ecclesiastical court which the French laws did not recognize; that Pius X. has seized upon the incident of the Bishop of Laval in order to disavow the policy of Pope Leo; and that the prosecution of the Bishop was due to the fact that the Bishop recognized the laws of France and refused to recognize the higher authority of religious over civil power. These incidents, the Premier declared, had made the separation of Church and State inevitable. M. Ribot, the leader of the Opposition, said that the Premier was a theologian gone astray as a politician, and accused him of flippancy. This elicited an angry retort from M. Combes and provoked great confusion. When order was restored, M. Ribot charged that the Premier had sought for causes of irritation in the relations with the Vatican and had purposely brought about the rupture of those relations. At the close of the debate the Government's course was approved by a vote of 325 to 237, a larger majority than that which the Premier secured at the last session. This action of the Chamber of Deputies indicates that immediate action looking to the denunciation of the Concordat may be expected.

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The Baltic Fleet

The Baltic fleet, about which so much has been said during the past few months, has begun its career by attacking a flotilla of English fishing-boats in the North Sea. The fleet, consisting of eight battle-ships, seven cruisers, and a large number of smaller ships, left Libau on the morning of October 16, bound, according to official statement, for Vladivostok, a trip of about fifteen thousand miles. A part of the fleet, supposed to be the battle-ship squadron, after emerging from the Danish Straits, steered a course for the English Channel, and about midnight on Friday, at a point two hundred miles northeast of Sperm Head in the North Sea, came upon a fishing fleet from Hull. The weather was hazy, but the fishermen noticed the outline of several large ships sailing in a line. These ships began to flash searchlights on the fishing vessels, which were engaged in trawling. After making what appeared to be an examination of the fishing-boats, the war-ships opened fire on them. The crews were thunderstruck and took refuge in most cases below decks. Some of the boats were hauling up their trawls when the bombardment began; they cut loose their nets, got up steam, and hurried away as fast as possible. The firing lasted about half an hour, the fishing-boats being entirely helpless in the presence of a fleet of battle-ships commanding them with searchlights. One trawler is known to have been sunk, and some others may have gone down. The captain and mate of the Crane were killed and many others were wounded. It is reported that eighteen wounded men have already reached Hull. It is asserted that the Russian vessels watched the damage they inflicted without offering the least assistance. The excitement and anger in that town cannot easily be described, for the attack is resented as a brutal and inexplicable outrage. The English newspapers express with entire unanimity the indignation of all classes of Englishmen, and the "Standard" doubtless expresses the feeling of the moment in the statement that the Russian Government should be informed with firmness and precision that it is expected to recall this ill-starred squadron in order that a proper inquiry may be held into the episode of Friday night, and to keep the fleet out of harm's way in the future. Sir Frederick Pollock, Professor of Jurisprudence at Oxford, and one of the first authorities on international law, declares that the attack on the fishing fleet was an act of war, which must mean an ultimatum or an apology. The British Government has already sent urgent notes of protest to the Russian Government. The only explanation of this extraordinary stupidity on the part of the commander of the Russian fleet is the suggestion that the Russians may have mistaken the fishing-

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trawls for a Japanese torpedo-boat flotilla. That seems incredible, however, for no such fleet could have gotten so far away from Japan without the knowledge of the world. The incident at this writing is from every point of view inexplicable, and the action of the fleet indefensible. The Russian Chargé d'Affaires at London has unofficially expressed deep regret. It is a serious question, however, whether a commander of a great squadron who can allow himself to commit such an outrage is a safe person to be trusted with ships at sea.

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The Armies in Manchuria

In no essential element is the situation of the Russian and Japanese armies different from that in which our report left them last week. It is true that after eleven days of severe fighting despatches told of a Russian stand and of hopes in Russia that the fortunes of war were turning. But by Thursday the long convulsion had ceased. Fog shut in the armies; rain then turned the roads into torrents, and the exhausted soldiers had a rest. Out of this fearful battle nothing but disaster to the Russian army can be spelled. The losses are estimated at fifty thousand for Russia alone. Of these, ten thousand are dead. Compared to this, the number of Federal dead at Gettysburg, 3,063, seems small. It is reported that the news of the battle was received in Japan without signs of elation, the slaughter of Russian soldiers being too appalling to permit of celebration. During the lull there has been a chance to hear of other matters besides military movements. Corruption in Russia has now laid hold of the Red Cross, if the London "Times" correspondent is to be believed. Some glimpses of the intrigue which flourishes in the Russian Court have been given to the world. The Russian Grand Dukes, even in face of defeat after defeat, are apparently unable to forego settling up old scores against army and navy officers. Russia is paying dearly for the privilege of being governed by a bureaucracy. On the other hand, some explanation of Japanese success is given by Dr. Louis L. Seaman, who has recently delivered at St. Louis, before the International Congress of Miltary Surgeons, an account of his observations of Japanese sanitary and surgical methods. Medical officers accompany foraging parties, decide on camp sites, and even give lectures to the soldiers on personal hygiene. As a consequence, in contrast to most armies, which suffer more from disease than bullets and shells, the Japanese army is almost devoid of disease.

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Mr. Aldrich's "Judith"

Mr. Aldrich's "Judith of Bethulia" was presented by Miss Nance O'Neil in Boston last week. There are a few losses in subtle beauty when the woman of the poem is visualized in the presence and dialogue of the young American tragedienne. On the other hand, some lines of mediocre verse are interpreted with great dramatic skill. The poem, long familiar to Mr. Aldrich's admirers, thrills with the vital passion and melodic imagery which mark his noblest verse. Many fine passages are included in the stage dialogue.

"Bowed like a lotus-flower
That watches its own shadow in the Nile"

is Judith, in her widow's garb, gazing from the tower upon the camps of Holofernes, praying for guidance and deliverance for her city. The sign from Heaven—the bloody hand pointing to the eastern gate, to indicate her mission—is an imaginative figment not found in the Scriptures, and but dimly outlined in the poem. Enacted with tragic fervor, it fittingly aids in interpreting her dark deed. By Mr. Aldrich and his interpreter the scene within the tent of Holofernes is portrayed with stern, tragic stress. Omitting all gruesome details of the murder, as emphasized by Giacommetti and other playwrights on this theme, the poet has concentrated his *motif* in the struggle within Judith's heart and soul. No hint of such psychological distress enters into the Scriptural narrative, but the revelation of Judith's true womanhood before and after her crucial act give full warrant to this effective study. The woman confronts and unnerves the religious patriot. Under the spell of the personality and

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outward kindness of Holofernes she distrusts her power, and utters one of the most passionate prayers in literature.

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Judith's Character

To modern readers Judith of the Apocrypha may seem a religious fanatic. Acting under divine guidance, to save her city from the tyrant of heathendom, she fulfills her part not alone in the fearful act of sacrifice, but also in the three months of feasting and in the pæans of grateful praise which form the sequel of the story. Like her predecessors in type, Deborah and Miriam, she retains her mood of exaltation. Far different is Mr. Aldrich's last dramatic scene. Obeying the canons of theatric art, he reached his climax at the close of the third act, and the sequence is almost an anti-climax. With all zeal gone, his Judith lapses at once into listless melancholy. The curtain falls upon an ineffective scene—the remorseful, funereal Judith, rejecting the laurel crown, the swooning Achior, and echoes of a weak chorus of laudation. The last stanzas of the poem, following the Scriptural form, give the reader a completed picture of peaceful beauty in Judith's later life, happy in her wide charities, her heart still sleeping in the tomb of Manasses, where, her years fulfilled,

"in the barley-field,
Nigh unto Dothaim, they buried her."

Mr. Aldrich has made a strong impression upon mind and heart by this revival of the Hebrew heroine, who "was in her time honorable in all the country." Noted for beauty, humility, and reverent zeal, she served all the sweet courtesies of home, but when occasion came, "with faith triumphant o'er her fears," she ventured all, even integrity and life, in the cause of her country.

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"Parsifal" in English

Last week Wagner's music-drama "Parsifal" was produced in Boston. The distinction which attached to the production lay in the fact that for the first time the work was sung in English. The translation was made by Margaret Glyn, and the suitability of the English form for a musical performance was demonstrated. In many respects the performance was of the highest quality. Indeed, soloists, chorus, and orchestra rendered the music in a manner which met with but slight criticism and which was favorably compared to the musical achievements at Bayreuth. Serious defects, however, were evident in the stage setting and in the dramatic representation. Inasmuch as the success of "Parsifal," like that of the other music-dramas of Wagner, depends upon a correlation of all the arts, dramatic, musical, and poetical, employed, these defects were far from superficial. The very nature of "Parsifal" demands that it should be either performed adequately or not performed at all. It is to be hoped that this undertaking by Mr. Henry W. Savage will not be the signal for the beginning of a series of unworthy "Parsifal" performances. The composer of a music-drama is at the mercy of those who present it. If "Parsifal" is given in a way that Wagner intended it should not be given, it is no longer "Parsifal," but something else. One need not be a devotee of Wagner to recognize the truth of this.

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Political Issues

VII.—Labor Unions

The difference of opinion between Mr. Parker and Mr. Roosevelt respecting the proper legal treatment of labor unions in their controversies with individual laborers is analogous to the difference in their view respecting the proper legal treatment of capitalistic unions in their controversies with individual capitalists. And in its essential principles the two questions are one. If government ought to bring capitalistic unions under control, so as to compel them to serve the general interest and prevent them from inflicting injury and injustice on their less powerful neighbors, it ought no less to bring labor unions under similar control. And, on the other hand, if the law ought not to interfere with capitalistic unions, but should leave them free and untrammeled except as they violate the well-established legal traditions known as the

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common law, it ought not to interfere with labor unions, but should leave them also free and untrammeled, subject only to the control of the same traditions. On both these questions Mr. Parker and Mr. Roosevelt occupy opposite positions, Mr. Parker being constitutionally opposed to governmental control of either capitalistic or labor unions, and Mr. Roosevelt being in favor of a strong government able and ready to compel both organizations to conduct themselves in the interest of the general public.

Mr. Parker's opinions on the subject of labor unions and the individual laborer have not been expressed, so far as we know, in any explicit political utterances; but they appear with great clearness in an opinion rendered by him, as Judge of the Court of Appeals, in the case of the National Protective Association of Steam Fitters and Helpers vs. James M. Cumming. In this case, a representative of a labor union discovered some non-union men at work upon a building with union men. He demanded the discharge of the non-union men, and enforced his demand by a threat to strike. The kind of authority which he claimed to exercise over the non-union men is illustrated by the testimony given at the trial by one of their number, who swore that this delegate "told us that if he ever found us on a job in the vicinity of New York he would strike it. That he would not allow us to work on any job unless it was a small job, a cheap job, and he allowed us to do it." The non-union men, who had formed an organization for their own protection, applied to the courts for an injunction to restrain the union "from in any wise interfering with and in any manner hindering or harassing the work or employment of the plaintiff or any member of the plaintiff's organization." The injunction was granted by the lower court, but refused by the Court of Appeals, the Court being divided in opinion; the judgment of the Court was rendered by Judge Parker. He held that the union men had a right to combine for the purpose of driving the non-union men from the work and securing it for themselves. His judgment is made the more clear and the more significant when read in contrast with the following sentences from the dissenting opinion: "A peaceable and orderly strike, not to harm others, but to improve their own condition, is not a violation of law. . . . They [the workmen] have no right, by force, threats, or intimidation, to prevent members of another labor organization from working, or an employer from hiring them or continuing them in his employment." From the principle thus enunciated, which seems to us self-evident, Judge Parker and a majority of the Court dissent.

We do not know that Mr. Roosevelt has expressed any opinion respecting the present *legal* rights and duties involved in this case, but he has repeatedly and explicitly expressed his opinion regarding the *ethical* issue involved, and made it clear what he thinks these legal rights ought to be. He does this in his letter of acceptance in the following words: "Each kind of organization [capitalistic or labor] is to be favored so long as it acts in a spirit of justice and of regard for the rights of others. . . . The humblest individual is to have his rights safeguarded as scrupulously as those of the strongest organization, for each is to receive justice, no more and no less." And what he thinks is justice in an issue between a labor organization and an individual laborer he has clearly and explicitly declared in his official indorsement of the following paragraph in the award of the Inter-State Coal Strike Commission: "It is adjudged and awarded that no person shall be refused employment or in any way discriminated against on account of membership or non-membership in any labor organization, and that there shall be no discrimination against or interference with any employee who is not a member of any labor organization by members of such organization." His action in reinstating in the Government Printing Office Mr. Miller, who had been discharged from the Bookbinders' Union, and in bringing moral pressure to bear upon both the coal operators and the coal miners to come to an agreement in order to save the third party, the general public, from untold suffering, gives emphasis to his judgment that

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interference is both right and expedient to control great organizations both of capital and labor.

It is not unjust, then, to say that Mr. Parker's tendency would be to leave great industrial organizations, whether of capital or of labor, untrammeled by legislative or judicial action, and let controversies between such organizations and the individual be determined by a free conflict between them. Mr. Roosevelt would bring both kinds of organization under the control of law, and would compel the organization, whether it were one of capital or of labor, to respect the welfare of the general public and the rights of the individual, whether capitalist or laborer.

It can hardly be necessary to say to the readers of The Outlook that on both of these points The Outlook agrees with the view of Mr. Roosevelt and dissents from that of Mr. Parker. It believes that State laws, whether common law or statute law, are wholly inadequate to deal with existing monopolies. Long before Mr. Roosevelt was President, we rather think long before he expressed any opinion on this question, The Outlook urged the control of monopolies by Federal law. It urged the creation of an Inter-State Railroad Commission years before such a Commission was created. It has persistently urged investing that Commission with judicial power, by authorizing it to hear and try complaints against inter-State carriers, not only for unjust discrimination, but also for exorbitant charges, and empowering it to decide what is a fair charge and to enforce its decision. The Outlook is no less of the opinion that a combination of workingmen to prevent a fellow-workman from getting work because he does not belong to the union, or to injure a concern which employs such a workman, ought to be, if it is not, an illegal combination. We assert the right of the workingman to refuse to work with other workingmen who for any reason, whether adequate or not, are disagreeable to him, and the right of workingmen to leave their employer in a body if such disagreeable associates are employed. But this is the full measure of their right. They have no right to combine for the purpose either of preventing such a disagreeable workingman from finding employment or of injuring the business of any person who employs such a workingman and because he employs him. In short, The Outlook believes that the labor union must be a voluntary union, not a compulsory union, and that the right of a non-union man to work and the right of an employer to employ a non-union man are both sacred rights which should be protected by the courts, and if necessary by the whole force of the Government, State and National.

The election of Mr. Parker will tend to prevent Federal regulation of inter-State monopolies and to relegate such regulation to the States; the election of Mr. Roosevelt will tend to the regulation of inter-State monopolies by existing machinery, and probably to secure additional legislation for the purpose of making such regulation more effective. The election of Mr. Parker will tend to lessen the legal control over labor unions and to relegate the labor problem to natural law—that is, to an industrial conflict between organized labor and the individual laborer; the election of Mr. Roosevelt will tend to the legal control of all industrial agencies, whether of capital or labor, and to the maintenance by law of the right of the individual laborer to work in or out of a union, and the right of the employer to employ union laborers or non-union laborers, uncoerced by combinations formed for the purpose of denying these rights and preventing their exercise.

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President Roosevelt and the South

The Outlook happens to be in possession of information which leads it to suggest that no man, perhaps, ever went into the White House with a keener desire to be of real and permanent service to the former slave States than Mr. Roosevelt.

In the most careful manner, the President has sought information from the highest type of both white and colored people concerning the political desires and needs of both the black and the

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white races and the status and defects of their relations to the Federal Government. This information was sought for by the President before he became President, and even before he became Vice-President.

The Outlook happens to know that, while Mr. Roosevelt was holding the position of Governor of New York, he outlined a policy which he would attempt to pursue if he should ever be called to the Presidency. The policy which he then stated he would pursue was one which the daily press of the South, as well as the public men of the South, had long advocated. The Outlook happens to know, further, that the President has pursued and consistently followed the policy outlined before he became President, as nearly as it has been possible for any human being to do.

Up to the time that Mr. Roosevelt became President, what were the main complaints of the South, and what were its demands? Roughly stated, they were as follows:

The South had been treated since the Civil War very much as foreign territory, so far as the National Government was concerned. In a large measure, the men who possessed the confidence of the several successive Administrations, and who held the main offices and controlled the politics of the South, were not native Southern white people, and did not possess the confidence of the Southern white people any more than they possessed the whole confidence of the negro people; this foreign, or carpetbag, element parceled out the offices by means of corrupt political machines. What are the definite facts as to how President Roosevelt met these conditions? Let us take one State, Mississippi, for instance, for it illustrates the policy that has been followed, in the main, in other Southern States.

To begin with, in Mississippi the President, while not seeking to overthrow or ignore the old political machine, went straight to the heart of conditions, and selected for his adviser E. S. Wilson, a Gold Democrat, the former secretary to L. Q. C. Lamar, the Mississippi correspondent of the New Orleans "Picayune," and the brother-in-law of Governor Longino. It would at least seem that this man had the confidence and respect of the South, and of Mississippi people especially. From the day of his appointment by the President, this gentleman has been one of the President's Southern advisers. In seeking his advice upon Southern politics the President insisted upon one limitation, and only one; his adviser was to recommend none but clean men to him for appointment, giving Republicans the first consideration, but where clean Republicans could not be found, then Democrats of good and proved character. The result is that the United States District Attorney is a white Democrat, and the same is true of the Register of the United States Land Office and the United States Marshalship. These are native Southern white men who stand high in the estimation of their neighbors; and these are but examples of what has been done in dozens of other cases in Mississippi alone.

Now, as to the negro office-holder in the South: the complaint that has been made against every Republican President since the Civil War has been that many offices were filled by a horde of ignorant and characterless colored politicians. How did President Roosevelt meet this situation? He has appointed to office in the South fewer colored men than any other President, and, in doing so, has not only decreased the quantity, but improved the quality. He has not only tried to do so, but has actually done it.

To how many of our readers has it ever occurred that, notwithstanding all the discussion that has taken place regarding Mr. Roosevelt and the South, practically no criticism has been made upon the character of the men holding office under him, white and black alike. Fault has been found in a few cases because of their color, but not with their character. Not only has the class of white and colored men appointed to office in the South been of such a high character as to escape criticism, but Mr. Roosevelt has done what no other President has done, and what the South has all along claimed should be done: he has appointed colored men living

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in the North to important positions in that section, as, for example, William H. Lewis, appointed to the place of Assistant United States District Attorney for Massachusetts.

What the President has done in Mississippi in lifting up and purifying the public service has been done in a larger or smaller degree in every Southern State. Special examples were the throwing over of the old and corrupt gang in Louisiana; the appointment of former Governor Thomas G. Jones and Judge Roulhac, native white Southerners, to important positions in Alabama.

The main thing, however, that the public ought to know about is that in failing to be controlled by old and corrupt political organizations, in going outside of his party to select men of high character for office, the President was running a political risk which required the very highest degree of moral courage and devotion to public duty to perform. He was taking a chance, as far as his political fortunes were concerned, which no other President had ever taken. We mean this: If Mr. Hanna, or any other strong man, had announced his candidacy for the Presidency, there is little question but that Mr. Roosevelt would have lost a large proportion of the vote of Southern States in the Republican nominating Convention, because of the power of the old-time political organization. It is not going too far to say that these Southern votes would have gone far in the direction of defeating Mr. Roosevelt for the nomination, if his defeat could have been compassed; while, on the other hand, the President could have had the vote of practically every Southern Republican delegate by simply yielding to the wishes of the lower element of Southern Republican bosses. Time and time again Mr. Roosevelt was warned of the political risk he was taking, but not once did he change his policy in the slightest degree, and on more than one occasion replied to friends that he would rather be defeated for the Presidential nomination than secure it by yielding to the vicious element of the South, Republican or Democratic.

Over and over again it has been asserted, by those who have not taken the time or the pains to investigate the real facts in the matter, that President Roosevelt's Southern policy has caused an increase of lawlessness at the South, as indicated by lynchings, burnings, etc. What is the truth? Lynchings in this country reached the highest number in 1892, when Benjamin Harrison was President, the number of lynchings for that year being 236. The next highest number was in 1885, under the Presidency of Grover Cleveland, when they numbered 210. In 1893, also during the Presidency of Grover Cleveland, there were 200 lynchings. These periods represent the high-water mark of lynching. During the two years in which Mr. Roosevelt has been in the White House there have been fewer lynchings than in any year since 1885; in 1902 there were 96 lynchings, and in 1903 there were but 104. These two years represent the smallest number of lynchings since 1885.

We make the prediction that before he leaves the White House the South will learn that it has never had a warmer or more consistent friend in the Presidential chair than Theodore Roosevelt.

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In Golden Weather

The foliage has not been as brilliant in this part of the world as in many other years, but the long succession of golden days has husbanded its fullest and ripest beauty, and the glory of it has been quite beyond words. If spring is the poet of the year, autumn has been the richest and most splendid expression of the suggestion of the opening summer, realized in the fruitfulness of the later season and returning to linger awhile in the fields and dream of labors accomplished and toil turned into joy. First the exquisite promise, the delicate prophecy; then weeks of arduous work; then the reaping of the grain, the gathering of the fruit; then, for a brief time, the earth giving itself up to hours of peace, with visions of the final harmony of the tremendous forces which slumber in the ground and feed the race.

When Keats wrote of "mists and mel-

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low fruitfulness," he was thinking of the drifting of light through the reaches of the woods, lying in the hollow of the landscape and floating over the quiet world like a radiant soul detaching itself from the body of the earth and hovering like a vision of the ultimate beauty over the places where men toil and strive. The splendor of these late autumnal hours is as tangible as the heat and strain of work which preceded it, and quite as real; but so immersed are we in the toil of life that we are slow to feel the reality of its poetry, and the beauty seems a brief visitation from some kindlier clime rather than a normal phase of our own familiar world. So mysteriously beautiful are the familiar fields and woods that we suspect the presence of some enchantment and find it hard to surrender ourselves to a charm which seems so remote from toil and care. We live with nature not as her children but as her bondsmen, and when the hour of her confidence comes we are slow to give ourselves up to the revelation, and go about with a feeling of unreality, as if we were being hoodwinked into an intimacy from which nature will withdraw as soon as we have accepted it with full content.

We forget that the glory which touches every common thing with a beauty beyond the dreams of art is the finer part of our harvesting; that after nature has given us our yield from the earth on which we have toiled, she gives us this second and finer harvest to the eye and the imagination; that, having worked with and for us, she now puts on her robes of state and welcomes us as friends at her court. Six weeks ago we were toilers together; now, under the veiled skies, the earth ceases to be a place of labor and becomes a place of poetry. The older gods no longer hide in the woods, and the voices of nymphs no longer haunt the quiet places where the pools are deep and still; but in all the earlier world, when men dreamed that the gods were near, there was never an enchantment more beguiling, never a loveliness more widely diffused, than this which enfolds the twentieth-century working world. Out of the heart of mother earth no vision ever rose on the imagination of the sons of song diviner than this which offers itself to the humblest worker of to-day.

As the sunlight sifts through yellow and bronze and gold and falls on the sward where the leaves are fast gathering; as one looks through the long series of trunks and feels the warmth of the color which seems to float among them sustained by the exquisite harmony of things; as the mist spreads itself over the far reach of the landscape, with masses of gold and brown on the hillsides—is there room for the skepticism of the commonplace, for the cynicism which is nourished by our defacement of the world? Nature is still as great a miracle as in the days when the myths were fashioned by the poetic imagination; it is in ourselves that the modern ugliness has its roots. Nature is still the great artist; we have become artisans. The unreality which seems to smite the beauty of the world is in us, not in nature. Our fathers in the earliest times worked with nature as arduously as we work with her; but they also played with her. She was a taskmaster to them, but she was also an artist. She offered them the sustenance of her fields, but she offered them also the companionship of her stars over their homes, and the song of her brooks in their toils, and those dreams and visions which fed the poets.

All these things she offers to us if we will take time to accept them. We have lived too long by the work of our hands; we must learn to live again with the open imagination. We have made a workshop of life; we must make a palace of it once more. In this golden weather, when the strife of seasons is hushed and nature pauses that we may see what toil means and learn anew that poetry has its roots in the commonest occupations and spreads itself over all the ways of life, let us go back to the mighty mother at whose breast all the generations have been nourished, and who is as ready to give food to the spirit as to the body.

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Which is the Civilized Power?[1]

By George Kennan

Special Correspondent for The Outlook in the Far East

IN the course of a discussion of the Russo-Japanese war which began at the Cosmos Club, in Washington, just before I left that city for the Far East, one of the oldest of the Club members said to me, "If the whole world had to come under either Russian domination or Japanese domination, which would you choose?" I declined to answer the question in that form, but replied that if I were shut up to a choice between world-domination by the present Russian Government and world-domination by the existing Japanese Government, I should take the latter without a moment's hesitation. If, on the other hand, the choice were between universal rule by a free and self-governing Russian people and universal rule by a free and self-governing Japanese people, I thought I should prefer the former. In the six months that have elapsed since that time I have had an opportunity to study Japanese methods and to form an estimate of Japanese character, and if the same question were put to me again I think I should cast my vote unhesitatingly in favor of the Government and people of Japan rather than in favor of the Government and people of Russia; and I should do this for the reason that Japan, as a Power, is civilized and modern, while Russia, as a Power, is semi-barbarous and mediæval. It is my purpose in the present article to set forth some of the facts that seem to me to support and justify this conclusion.

Different individuals and different peoples would very likely disagree in their definitions of "civilization," but it must be generally admitted, I think, that there are certain conditions, qualities, characteristics, and acquirements which must exist in the civilized State of the twentieth century, and that among them are (1) mental and moral culture; (2) enlightenment and toleration in religious faith; (3) a general respect for and observance of law, however enacted; (4) a judicial system that gives legal security to person and property without class distinction; (5) individual freedom to think, choose, and act within wide limits of law and in all fields of human activity; (6) a certain level of individual and national integrity; (7) a certain degree of individual and national development in the personal virtues that may be described as the characteristics of a gentleman—viz., modesty, morality, humanity, and fairness. A State may lack some of these conditions and acquirements and still be civilized; but it can hardly be regarded as civilized if it lacks them all. I purpose to show, so far as I may be able to do so, how Russia and Japan stand respectively with reference to these essentials of civilized life.

(1) Mental and moral culture. One of the first things that strike the attentive newcomer in Japan is the great number of external evidences of widely diffused education. In Tokyo, for example, there is a bookstore on almost every block, not only in the parts of the city inhabited by the higher social classes, but in the quarters and districts tenanted almost exclusively by poor shopkeepers, artisans, and day laborers. Since I took up my residence in the capital, I have ridden hundreds of miles through its universally clean streets, from Ueno Park to Shinagawa, and from the Botanical Garden to the River, and I think I am well within the limit of moderation when I say that there are ten bookstores in Tokyo for every one that can be found in St. Petersburg. School-children, of both sexes, are quite as much in evidence as bookstores; and at certain hours of the day one cannot

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ride or walk three blocks in any part of the city without meeting boys in the visored caps and girls in the maroon-colored Occidental skirts of the Japanese student world; while on holidays long processions of younger children from the primary schools march through the streets, singing as they go, on their way to some excursion suburb or picnic ground. If one had no other material for the formation of a judgment than that afforded by the bookstores and school-children of Tokyo and St. Petersburg, one would naturally and inevitably conclude that, in educational facilities at least, Japan is far in advance of Russia.

But there is other and more conclusive material for a comparison of the two countries in the matter of culture. Official statistics show that Russia has at school only 4,484,594 pupils, or about 25 per cent. of her children of school age, while Japan has under instruction 5,351,502 pupils, or 92 per cent. of her children of school age. Russia, with a yearly national revenue of about $1,000,000,000, spends for primary education something less than $12,000,000, or 8 cents per capita of her whole population; while Japan, with only one-eighth of Russia's revenue, spends for the same purpose nearly $16,000,000, or 34 cents per capita of her whole population. Russia's military expenditure bears to her primary school expenditure the ratio of nearly 18 to 1, while Japan's disbursements for military purposes bear to her primary school expenditure the ratio of less than 4 to 1.

So far as the practical utility of the instruction given is concerned, Japan is far in advance of Russia. In Japan the course of study for primary schools of the first and second grade comprises reading, writing, arithmetic, geography, Japanese history, elementary science, drawing, singing, gymnastics, and (for the girls) sewing. In the higher primary schools having a four-year course, manual labor and the English language may be substituted for elementary science and singing. In Russia, even the best of the primary schools have a curriculum far inferior to this in practical utility, while more than half of them—those controlled by the Holy Synod—are devoted chiefly to religion, the catechism, and choral church singing, with reading and writing as mere incidentals. In Japan, moreover, the instruction is liberal and tolerant in spirit, while in Russia—particularly in the 40,000 schools managed by the Holy Synod—the aim is not so much to awaken and enlighten the mind as to give it a strong bias in favor of what may be called the servile virtues, including submission, reverence, loyalty to the Czar as the source of all power, and devotion to a superstitious mediæval Church. Mr. Pobedenostsef, the Procurator of the Holy Synod, would probably characterize the Japanese schools as "irreligious;" but in his own schools the teaching is largely based on mediæval bigotry and superstition, while in Japan it is founded on reason, and is outlined in the Imperial rescript to students which says: "Be filial to your parents and affectionate to your brothers; be loving husbands and wives and true to your friends; conduct yourselves with modesty, and be benevolent to all. Develop your intellectual faculties and perfect your moral powers by gaining knowledge and acquiring a profession. Promote public interests and advance public affairs. Ever respect the national constitution and obey the laws of the country, and, in case of necessity, courageously sacrifice yourselves to the public good." (Educational rescript issued by the Emperor of Japan in October, 1890.)

There may not be as much "religion" in this as in the teaching that trains Russian children to repeat a mediæval catechism, believe in the devil, cross themselves before ikons, rely on the intercession of the saints, worship old Byzantine pictures, and kiss the half-decayed bones of dead priests; but the Japanese teaching strikes, at least, a modern note; while the instruction given by the Holy Synod is an echo from the gloomy ecclesiastical walls of the Dark Ages. The Japanese educational rescript, moreover, if it were issued as a circular-letter to Russian students, by the curator of a Russian educational district, would be suppressed by the censor on account of its references to

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the promotion of public interests and the advancement of public affairs. Russian citizens are not expected nor permitted to have anything whatever to say about public interests and public affairs, and such counsel as this to students would be regarded by the bureaucracy as inflammatory and seditious. I shall return to the subject of Japanese education in a later article; but the few facts above set forth are enough, I think, to show that, in respect to the mental and moral culture of its people, Japan is far more civilized and modern than Russia.

(2) Enlightenment and toleration in religious faith. One of the most noteworthy and strongly marked characteristics of modern civilization is an increase of charity, tolerance, and freedom in matters of religious belief. In almost every country that claims to be civilized, a man is free, not only to worship God in accordance with the promptings of his own mind and conscience, but to recommend his own particular faith to others whom he regards as less enlightened. In Russia, however, withdrawal from the Established Church is strictly forbidden, and every attempt to enlighten the minds and quicken the consciences of orthodox Russians, even although it be based on the words and example of Christ alone, is punished by the State with barbarous severity. A glance at the Russian Penal Code is sufficient to show that in order to find such penalties as those therein prescribed for disrespectful references to the Church, and attempts to poach on the close spiritual preserve of the Holy Synod, we must go back to the Middle Ages. Missionaries are not tolerated in Russia. Attempts to proselyte are punished with penal servitude; and harmless Bible Christians, like the Stundists and the Dukhobortsi, are either driven out of the country by ecclesiastical persecution or exiled to remote parts of Siberia and the Caucasus. Even the pure and exalted altruism of Count Tolstoy is condemned, and the Couut himself is officially described as "the great Nihilist."

It is hardly necessary to say that ecclesiastical semi-barbarism of this kind is not to be found in Japan. If you are able to show a Japanese a purer faith or a better way to worship God, you are perfectly at liberty to do so, whether you are a Protestant, a Jew, a Roman Catholic, or a captain of the Salvation Army. The whole Empire is dotted with Christian missions, and religious thought, belief, and instruction have long been as free here as in Great Britain or the United States. Even now, in time of war, the Orthodox Russian Church, established in Tokyo by the Czar's Holy Synod, is tolerated and protected, and Father Nikolai, the Russian priest, is ministering to Japanese converts and carrying on his services as usual. At the same time, the Russian ecclesiastical journal "Russki Palomnik" (Russian Pilgrim) is instructing its readers beyond the Urals that "the Emperor of Japan is the Antichrist," and that "it is, therefore, the duty of Holy Russia to make war upon him." The "Strannik," another Russian religious periodical, in an article entitled "Our Struggle with Japan from a Biblical Point of View," says: "Russia has a Providential mission to extend the Orthodox Faith over the whole world. If Manchuria were left in the possession of the Chinese, the latter would not feel the necessity of accepting Christianity, and would remain forever in Japanese darkness. Hence the law of God forbids the restoration of Manchuria to China." This, certainly, is a short and easy gospel for an Orthodox land-grabber! The "Tserkovni Vestnik" (Church Messenger)—another organ of the Holy Synod—declares that "the war now being waged by Russia is in accordance with the will of God. He ordered the Jews to exterminate the Canaanites, and the Japanese are the Canaanites of the twentieth century."

Waiving, for the moment, consideration of the morality of such teachings, which nation, in this particular case, is the civilized and Christian Power—Japan, who tolerates and protects the church of her enemy in her own capital, or Russia, who calls the Mikado "Antichrist," and urges her people, in the name of God, to exterminate the Japanese Canaanites of the twentieth century?

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But the mediæval character of the Russian State appears in the acts and speeches of her ruler as well as in the semi-barbarous penalties and denunciations of her Church. Upon the recent birth of an heir to the throne, the Czar said, in reply to the congratulations of his Court, "I now face the future calmly and without alarm, knowing, by this sign, that the war will be brought to a happy conclusion." The idea that the sex of a newly born child is a "sign" which will determine the result of a war, although that sex was fixed, by natural physiological processes, long before the war began, is a conception utterly foreign to modern civilization and culture. The same remark may be made with reference to the Czar's amnesty proclamation, which liberated a certain number of condemned criminals merely for the reason that a newly born child happened to be a boy instead of a girl. If the criminals were fairly tried and rightly condemned, liberation of them was an injustice to society, and, whether they were or not, the exercise of the pardoning power as an expression of personal gratification and joy at the birth of a male child is not only irrational, but is a survival of a semi-barbarous custom that is more than two thousand years old. These acts and speeches of the Czar, taken in connection with the teachings of the ecclesiastical press and the sections of the Penal Code that relate to "Crimes against the Faith," seem to show that Russian religion is a survival of the corruptions of the sixteenth century rather than a reflection of the Christian thought of the twentieth.

(3, 4, and 5) Law, judicial procedure, and freedom. The most intolerable feature, perhaps, of the Czar's bureaucratic system of government is what the Russians themselves call "proizvol"—that is, the substitution of individual volition for legal prescription. In civilized countries laws duly enacted by the legislative branch of the government, and approved by the head of the State, must be obeyed by officials as well as by private citizens; but in Russia such is not the case. A Minister, in a private interview with the Czar, may obtain the latter's permission, not only to ignore a certain troublesome legal provision, but, in case of alleged emergency, to disregard law altogether. The Minister may then delegate a part of this illegally acquired authority to the provincial governors; the latter, in turn, may turn over a part of it to the ispravniks; and the ispravniks may hand down a reduced measure of it to the zemski nachalniki; so that, eventually, the whole bureaucratic organism, from the Czar to a mere chief of rural police, is acting, in that particular case, upon personal judgment rather than in accordance with law. This not only gives great insecurity to personal rights, but leaves the private citizen wholly at sea with regard to the nature and extent of his duties and privileges. When he thinks that he is acting strictly within legal limits, he suddenly runs up against a "secret" Ministerial circular which has abrogated or modified, without public notice, some provision of law that the bureaucracy has found to be "impracticable" or "inconvenient." "Proizvol" of this kind is more or less prevalent in all departments of Russian administration, but it is particularly unjust and harmful in the large and vaguely defined field of so-called "political crime." There the bureaucracy, in its dealings with "political offenders" and with the "politically untrustworthy" press, acts almost wholly without legal restraint. House searches by the thousand are made without legal warrant; citizens by the hundred are exiled without trial; and newspapers by the score are suspended or suppressed by a mere order of the Minister of the Interior.

A large part of the Empire has been in a "minor state of siege"—that is, under a modified form of martial law—for fifteen or twenty years, and Ministers and governors-general have exercised the power of life and death by virtue of their authority to send a civil offender before a military court for trial. Russian society, moreover, is divided into "privileged" and "non-privileged" classes, and the protection that the law gives to one is denied to the other. A "privileged" citizen—unless he happens to be a disorderly student—may not be struck with a whip; but a peasant citi-

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zen, up to the date of the Czar's recent amnesty proclamation, might be legally flogged by sentence of a cantonal court, and, in practice, was often illegally flogged by order of a provincial governor. The right of public assembly, without official preknowledge and permission, does not exist, and the signing of a collective petition to the Czar or to a Minister is a penal offense. The passport system is still in force, and a man may not change his residence, or even his boarding-place, without notifying the police.

The contrast between all this and the state of things that prevails in Japan is so great that one can hardly pass from one to the other without a mental shock. The power of the Emperor in Japan is limited by a constitution, and the will of the people is expressed by means of a parliament. Officials, as well as citizens, are bound by law, and the laws bear equally upon all. There is no political crime, and, consequently, house searches, arbitrary arrests, and sentences of exile are unknown. Three is a military censorship, because Japan is engaged in war; but the proprietors of newspapers that disobey the press laws are tried in the civil courts, where they are defended by counsel of their own selection. If they are found guilty, they are fined; but such punishments as prohibition of street sales, deprivation of the right to print advertisements, temporary suspension, and total suppression, which are so common in Russia, are here unknown. Finally, the citizens of Japan are not hampered by a passport system, and are at liberty to go where they like, read what they choose, think and talk as they please, and act freely within the widest possible limits of law.

Upon a comparison of the administrative, judicial, and executive methods of the two countries, as above outlined, there can be no doubt or uncertainty, I think, as to the civilization of the one and the mediæval semi-barbarism of the other.

(6) Individual and national integrity. Every war in which Russia has been engaged, since her struggle with the Allies in the Crimea, has shown the dishonesty of her officials and the general corruption of her civil service. The frauds that were brought to light during the Crimean War filled the Russian patriot Aksakoff with disgust and despair, and one of the prominent nobles of the Court of Nicholas I. invited the latter to his house in order to show him a life-size picture of the Crucifixion, in which the Emperor himself appeared as the central figure, hanging on a cross between two thieves. At the beginning of the Russo-Turkish War, thousands of bags, supposed to contain black rye-flour, were transported beyond the Danube, and upon being opened there were found to contain sawdust mixed with earth. When I was in St. Petersburg, in 1885, the courts had not yet finished trying army officers and contractors whose frauds had been discovered in the course of the first Turkish campaign. In Siberia I had personal knowledge of many corrupt agreements made with contractors by Russian officials of high rank, and in one case the person involved was the governor of a province. Everybody in the Far East who had commercial dealings with Dalny and Port Arthur before the war knows how Russian army and navy officers were accustomed to defraud their own Government by means of false bills; and Mr. Whigham, the able correspondent of the London "Morning Post," who traveled through Manchuria in 1901–2, said that the official system of "squeeze" which prevailed there "bid fair to be worse than anything imagined by the Chinese." So general is the dishonesty in Russian bureaucratic circles that one is almost ready to give credence to the report from Berlin that eight million rubles have been stolen from the treasury of the Russian Red Cross.

Turning now to the Oriental empire, I am very well aware that there is fraud in Japan. Persons who are in a position to know tell me that the standard of commercial morality—particularly in the so-called treaty ports—is far from high, and I have good reason to believe that the counterfeiting of Korean nickels, the manufacture of fraudulent curios and antiques, and the making of double and discrepant bills for dutiable exports are comparatively common practices. At

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the same time, business upon an immense scale is being carried on honestly, and there are no public scandals, at least, in connection with the Government service.

When it comes to a comparison between Russia and Japan in the matter of political truthfulness, sincerity, and honor, the Asiatic Power stands far higher than the European. Japan has never officially denied the existence of a secret treaty, which was afterward produced, as Russia did in the case of the Plançon agreement with China in April, 1903. She has never resorted to the deliberate falsification and mistranslation of documents, as Russia did in the trial of political offenders at Königsberg a few weeks ago, and as she had done many times before in political trials at home. The Mikado has never broken his promise and violated sacredly pledged honor, as the Czar did in the case of Finland; and the Japanese Foreign Office has never dealt with a diplomatic question as dishonestly as Admiral Alexieff and his supporters dealt with the question of the evacuation of Manchuria. I doubt, finally, whether any foreign newspaper correspondent who has had an opportunity to become familiar with the policy of Russia in Asia will ever say that "her political integrity is certainly equal to that of any Power in the world;" but such is the opinion of Japan expressed by a man of dispassionate mind who has had wide experience in the East, and who, I believe, is now reporting the war from the Russian side.[1]

(7) Modesty, morality, and humanity. The comparison that I purpose to make under this head is not intended to comprise the peoples of the two countries *en bloc*, but merely the officials, on each side, who compose or represent the State, the subordinates whom they have trained, and the newspapers that reflect, more or less accurately, the opinions and feelings of the ruling class. It is, therefore, a comparison of systems and their results, rather than of peoples and their characteristics. The world does not hold a more ardent lover and admirer of the Russian people than I; and I wish to make the sharpest possible distinction between that people and the Church and State by which it has been oppressed, misled, kept in ignorance, and, in part, corrupted. The Russian bureaucracy is not Russia; on the contrary, it is Russia's greatest enemy.

To an observer who has had an opportunity to compare the official statements and the newspaper comments of the two combatants in this war, nothing is more striking than the modesty and self-restraint of the one and the arrogance and boastfulness of the other. In almost the first official communique issued by the Russian Government after the beginning of hostilities, we read that "Russia has been burning with indignation against an enemy who has suddenly broken off negotiations, and whose aim it was to obtain a slight success in a long-desired war by a treacherous attack." "The Russian nation, with natural impatience, is wishing for a speedy revenge." . . . "Japan will receive chastisement for her treachery, and for having challenged Russia to war." . . . "Our army will revenge the attack a hundredfold." . . . "It will not take much time to give Japan signal defeats" and to "inflict chastisement on a nation which well deserves it, and which has challenged Russia in an arrogant manner."

The reply of the Japanese Government to this denunciatory and abusive communique was limited to a good-tempered but most conclusive statement of facts, and the strongest expression that I can find in it is the following: "It is, therefore, quite evident that Russia had not the least inclination for friendly settlement, but solely sought, by military preponderance, to force Japan into submission."

About a month later Count Cassini, Russian Ambassador in Washington, said: "The idea of Japanese success, as an end of this war, is preposterous. America is getting most of her news from Tokyo, which accounts for the misleading statements which have converted a few cunning strokes by a treacherous nation into decisive victories."

In the interviews and statements of

[1] "Manchuria and Korea," by H. J. Whigham, London, 1904, p. 168.

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Japanese officials and diplomats, from Tokyo to London, no boasts, no imputations of "treachery," no charge of issuing "misleading statements," and no references to "cunning strokes," "revenge," or "chastisement," can be found. Japan's behavior throughout was that which in private life we should expect from a man who combined self-respect with dignified self-possession.

Russian newspapers that reflect the opinions and feelings of the bureaucracy—such journals, for example, as the "Svet," the "Novoye Vremya," and the "Moskofski Vedomosti"—are even more bitter, unjust, and abusive than Russian statesmen and diplomats. The "Svet" declares that, while the Japanese soldiers are brave, "they get their courage out of wine; they are doped, like horses for a race. The Russian soldier likes his glass in free times, but he needs no stimulant to make him keen." Mr. Suvorin, editor of the "Novoye Vremya," in a review of the first five months of the war, says: "This material age seeks the curious—broken lines, twistings, women's forms which wind like snakes and dragons, pictures without perspective, and bronze and ivory trinkets which give expression to Japanese ugliness. European decadence has worked from this source, which came into literature and art as something curious, and will so remain. It has become the fashion to play with this sense of the curious, little, graceless, and slanting-eyed. Suddenly this little hard and cruel spirit, which inclines, even in war, to pedantic toiling and to dragon bites, which believes only in the material, and never makes war for great ideas, appears on the scene with European artillery and begins to die in masses and cut its stomach open. And Europe gapes in admiration of this yellow race. And what have the Japanese achieved? There has not been a single brilliant military operation on their side, despite their superiority in troops and artillery. Had we but been prepared, we should long ago have made an end of this war, and should have given one final proof that, for Russia, the Yellow Peril does not exist—a proof that the white man stands higher than the yellow man, and that their slanting eyes give them no superiority over us. The eye is the window of the soul, and an oblique eye is the sign of an oblique soul. The war with these yellow-faced barbarians does not mean the overthrow of Russia. The Slavonic race will give a message to the whole world such as has not yet been heard—a message whose strength and meaning the world first gets a hint of while it rejoices over the craftiness of the yellow-faces."

Mr. Suvorin's knowledge of art and eyes seems to be limited as his capacity for self-restraint and temperate speech. Japanese eyes are not oblique, and Japanese art never represents "women's forms which twine like snakes;" but, to adopt the suggestion of the "Svet," perhaps the editor of the "Novoye Vremya" was "doped." Dope is not unknown in Russia, and it is more charitable to assume that the editorial from which I have given extracts was written under the influence of some intoxicant than to believe that it was the expression of sane and intelligent judgment.

It is hardly necessary to say that such writing as this is not to be found in the newspapers of Japan. A Japanese editor would "cut his stomach open"—to use Mr. Suvorin's phrase—before he would show himself capable of such malice and ignorance. But the "Svet" and the "Novoye Vremya" are not the only Russian newspapers that manifest the bureaucratic spirit of intolerance, bitterness, and cruelty. The Moscow "Gazette," the able but unscrupulous journal edited for so many years by Mr. Katkoff, boldly advocates the indiscriminate slaughter of Japanese wounded. "Our great general, Suvaroff," it says, "when he fought against the civilized French, very often gave the order 'no quarter' to his troops. This was not cruelty or barbarism; it was necessity. And now necessity forces us, in this war with a half-savage and barbarous nation, to adhere to Suvaroff's rule of 'no quarter.' In our war with Japan we are like a man attacked by a viper. It is not enough to frighten it and leave it to hide in a bush, it must be destroyed; and we must do this without considering whether England and the cosmopoli-

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tan plutocracy object or not. To burden Russia with thousands of Japanese prisoners, spreading dysentery, typhus, and cholera among the Russian people, would perhaps be in accordance with humanitarian principles, but it would be very unwise. No quarter and no prisoners should be our motto."

The Moscow "Gazette" and its bureaucratic subscribers need not worry over disease-spreading Japanese prisoners; they are not likely to get any; but what shall be said of the civilization—not to speak of the Christianity—of a power which is a party to the Genevan Red Cross Convention, but which allows its most influential newspaper—and a paper under preventive censorship—to advocate the murder of an enemy's wounded?

The reply of the Japanese "viper" to the Moscow "Gazette's" cry of "no quarter" finds expression in action as follows: In the first place, the Japanese newspaper press treats its enemy with what seems to me extraordinary fairness and generosity. Every exploit or achievement of the Russian armies that deserves commendation is either recognized or praised; General Kuropatkin is always spoken of with respect; and the news of the destruction of the Russian cruiser Novik, which was regarded in Japan as a particularly gallant and well-handled ship, was received in Tokyo with a feeling of relief, but at the same time with sincere and general expressions of sympathy and regret. I have on file a dozen clippings from recent Japanese newspapers in which complimentary references are made to Russian soldiers, Russian commanders, or Russian men-of-war. In the second place, Japan treats the wounded soldiers of her enemy better, in some respects, than her own. They are humanely dealt with on the battlefield and skillfully cared for in hospitals; their daily ration is more generous than that of wounded Japanese; their mail goes without postage, and packages for them pay neither customs duty nor freight; and detailed statements of their condition in respect to health are made at short intervals to the French Legation for transmission to Russia. In the third place, the squadron of Admiral Kamimura rescued from the sinking cruiser Rurik the very same Russian sailors who torpedoed the Japanese transport Hitachi-maru, and who afterwards fired on her survivors as they were swimming in the water. The Admiral himself, moreover, in an interview published in the "Jiji Shimpo," "praised highly the determination with which the Russians discharged their duties until the last moment;" said that he "could not help admiring the enemy for his boldness and gallantry;" and declared that he "sympathized warmly with those brave men when he saw them coming to our ships as prisoners."

Such, as manifested in action, are some of the characteristics of the Asiatics whom the "Novoye Vremya" calls "yellow-faced barbarians;" whom the Russian religious press would "exterminate;" and whom the Moscow "Gazette" would utterly destroy as poisonous "vipers." The only fair and generous thing that has yet been said of Japan by a Russian in the Government service is contained in a letter from a staff officer in General Kuropatkin's army to a journalist in St. Petersburg, which reads in part as follows: "An enemy so dangerous, whether as regards persistence, readiness for war, or moral strength, Russia has never met. We Russians, with some exceptions, have always known how to die; but this does not mean that an enemy so rare, from a military point of view, as the Japanese, is not to be feared or deserves the contempt which it is our custom to shower upon this civilized nation. I have a right to speak, for I have spent a considerable time in Japan, and I tell you frankly that I often blushed for my country when I compared many things there and at home. Russia considers herself a great nation. Every nation, in the person of its representatives, the organs of the press, should comport itself with dignity, should feel respect for a worthy foe, should not conceal its own mistakes, and should not indulge in barefaced self-laudation."

These are words of soberness and truth, but if they were published over the writer's name in St. Petersburg instead of anonymously in the liberal

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Russian journal "Osvobozhdenie" in Stuttgart, they would be made the foundation for a charge of "political untrustworthiness," if not of actual treason.

In the year 1616 the great Japanese ruler Iyeyasu "ascended to the skies," leaving a last will and testament which has since been known as "The Legacy of Gongen Sama." In this collection of laws and precepts, drawn up for the instruction and guidance of his successors, Iyeyasu said: "The magistrates of the civil and criminal courts are reflectors of the mode of government. The persons invested with this office should therefore be chosen from a class of men who are upright and pure and distinguished for charity and benevolence. Once every month an officer should be sent, unexpectedly, to inquire into their mode of administration, or the Shogun should himself go unexpectedly, and investigate and decide the case in hand. The art of governing a country consists in the manifestation of respect on the part of the monarch toward his subjects. Know that if you turn your back upon this you will be assassinated and the Empire will be lost. In my youth my sole aim was to conquer and subjugate hostile provinces, and to take revenge upon the enemies of my ancestors. Yuyo teaches, however, that 'to assist the people is to give peace to the State,' and since I have come to understand that this precept is founded on sound principle, I have undeviatingly followed it. Let my posterity hold it fast. Any one who turns his back upon it is no descendant of mine. The people are the foundation of the Empire."

If these enlightened and far-sighted precepts were a reflection of the government of that time, we may fairly inquire, I think, whether the Japan of the Tokugawa Shogunate was not more truly civilized than is the Russia of Nicholas II.

Tokyo, Japan.

Theodore Roosevelt: A Personal Sketch

By Lyman Abbott

IT has been frequently said in the present political campaign that Theodore Roosevelt is himself the principal issue. I do not think so. Parties, and the principles which they represent, and the tendencies which they embody, are more important than any personality, however powerful and pervasive. But Mr. Roosevelt is the most interesting personality in this campaign, and also, in my judgment, the most misunderstood; and for the benefit of those readers of The Outlook who are considering the question whether they wish him to be the Chief Executive of the Nation for the next four years, I propose to give them in this article a portrait of the man, drawn from a somewhat close personal acquaintance with him, which has extended over a series of years.

Mr. Roosevelt is, without any exception, the most outspoken man I have ever known. It would not be true to say that he wears his heart upon his sleeve, for this would give the impression of an emotional man whose acts and utterances are the product of his impulses. But it might be said that he carries his mind upon his sleeve. He is naturally without reserves, and absolutely without concealments. He can be silent, though he is not often so; but he cannot veil his meaning in ambiguous phrases, nor appear to be what he is not. My first impression was that his outspokenness would prove fatal to his political ambitions; but a somewhat careful observation has convinced me that between the childlike candor of Mr. Roosevelt and the sphinxlike silence of Mr. McKinley there is no safe middle ground. No one but his most intimate advisers knew what Mr. McKinley thought; every one who is admitted to half an hour's conference with Mr. Roosevelt knows what he thinks. The safeguarding of the one lay in his almost impenetrable reserve; the popularity of the other is partly due to the fact that he treats every man as a friend worthy of his confidence. There is no reason

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to suppose that he was any more desirous of renomination and re-election than any one of his predecessors; but a desire which they regarded as one hardly to be whispered in their closets to themselves he naïvely acknowledged to any one who approached him. A wish which he thought it right to entertain he did not think it undignified to acknowledge. He has neither the inclination nor the ability to dissemble. He always is what he seems to be.

With this transparency of nature is coupled an extraordinary quickness of mental action. His mind is more rapid in its ordinary processes than that of any other man I have ever personally known. If the reader of this article has ever seen an expert bookkeeper run his eye down a column of four figures and write the result at the foot with unerring accuracy and without hesitation, or an expert chess-player take in the whole field of action before him, appear to see in an instant all the possible combinations and the probable outcome of every move, and without delay decide and act upon his course, he may form some idea of what I mean by quickness of mental action. Mr. Roosevelt has so often been called impulsive that I presume those who have never known him will regard with incredulity this expression of my conviction that he is not impulsive. Such, however, is my conviction. His acts are the result of processes of judgment, not of sudden impulse. He thinks first and acts afterward. It is the celerity of his mental processes, the unhesitating confidence he feels in the result, and the quickness of his action upon his conclusions, which, combined, have given him the reputation of impulsiveness. But in truth he no more acts upon impulse in his political decisions than the bookkeeper acts upon guess when he puts down the sum at the foot of his column, or the chess-player on chance when he moves his pawn or his queen. Deliberation and judgment generally go together, but not always; Mr. Roosevelt is not a deliberate man, but he acts habitually on judgment, not on impulse.

This celerity of action is fostered by the methods of his judgment. There are three methods by which one may decide his course of action in a doubtful exigency—tradition, policy, principle. He may look into the past and consider what course habit—his own or that of his social circle, his community, or the nation—indicates as correct; he may peer into the future and endeavor to decide what will be the probable consequences of alternative courses of action; or he may refer the question before him to some before carefully considered and well-settled principle of action, and decide upon his course by applying that principle to the circumstances before him. The former two methods are relatively slow. Unless one is very familiar with past precedents, he must take time to study them, if they are to be his guide; nor is it possible without much pondering to form any valuable judgment as to the probable ultimate consequences of any dubious course of action. But ordinarily it takes little time to apply to any given circumstance a principle of action already well defined and clearly established in the mind. In determining what principles of action shall guide him, Mr. Roosevelt considers, often carefully, both the traditions of the past and the probable results of a proposed and habitual course of conduct. But when the particular exigency arises in which he is to act, he neither asks what tradition prescribes nor what results will follow; he applies the principle already determined on and acts as it directs. Thus, he settled very early in his political career that he would be a Republican, and that he would maintain his independence in his party, not by going out of it. This involved a second principle, when he was invested with appointing power, namely, that he would consult with the recognized leaders of his party, simply because they were its recognized leaders, but would never appoint to office a man whom they recommended if he had good reason to doubt the candidate's character and competency. These two principles led him to consult with both Mr. Platt and Mr. Odell when he was Governor of New York, and with Mr. Burton, of Kansas, and Mr. Quay, of Pennsylvania, when he became President. No scoffing

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at him as having abjured his principles because he consulted with these party leaders had any effect upon him; and as little was he affected by the threatened opposition of these party leaders when he refused to be guided by their advice because he thought their nominees unworthy of his acceptance. I think this principle of political action is sound; that in a country governed by parties the executive must consult with representatives of his party, whether he would have chosen them to represent the party or not. But, whether sound or not, his character cannot be understood except as the student of current history understands that this has been and is one of the guiding principles of Mr. Roosevelt's political action.

This combined celerity of mental action, disregard of traditions and of temporary consequences, and adherence to fundamental principles, finds a dramatic illustration in the Panama case. In this case the end to be sought was a Panama Canal; the duties to be fulfilled were the preservation of the railroad and the keeping of the peace. Mr. Roosevelt foresaw that the consequences of allowing Colombian soldiers to land on the isthmus would be fighting in Panama, a consequent necessity of landing United States soldiers to guard the railroad, a probable embroilment with Colombia, a possible entanglement with France. The quickest, shortest, and most economical method of securing the desired end—the construction of a Panama Canal, and of fulfilling our duty, the preservation of peace—was to prohibit the landing of Colombian soldiers in the vicinity of the Canal. Mr. Roosevelt issued this order, preserved the peace, saved the lives of Colombians, Panamans, and Americans, and, his critics say, violated international law and American traditions. The ablest authorities on international law are divided in opinion on that question. Personally, I believe that he did not violate international law, and that he is sustained by the spirit of American traditions. But I am also of opinion that, whether he acted in accordance with traditions, national or international, did not greatly concern him then and does not greatly concern him now. It concerned him only to reach the important results in accordance with fundamental ethical principles. And it was a fundamental ethical principle that this Nation had a right to choose the safest, securest, and most peaceable method of fulfilling its obligations to the other nations, without regard to past traditions, formed under very different conditions.

With this habit of going to the heart of events is the habit of going to the heart of men. Mr. Roosevelt measures men by their character, and their character by its essentials. That he does not measure men by their clothes, or their wealth, or their family, or even by their culture, is not remarkable; there are a great many Americans who do not. What is remarkable is his disregard of the superficial vices, and his hatred of those that are essential. Roughness of language and demeanor does not repel him; for faults into which a man is hurried by some sudden temptation he has great charity; but meanness, greed, disloyalty, and false pretense he abhors with a vigorous abhorrence. And to take an office under pretense of serving the country and use the office for the purpose of robbing the country is in his thought the meanest kind of disloyalty. For that he has no tolerance. His affection for the Rough Rider and his hatred for the official peculator are different aspects of the same characteristic—a habit of judging men by their essential elements. It is this his standard of judgment that makes him the most democratic of men.

This habit of judging both men and things by the realities of life makes him impatient of the doctrinaire. The Frenchman would rub off the slate all that the past has written on it, and then begin anew—a national characteristic, possibly born of the French Revolution, certainly illustrated by it. The Anglo-Saxon is by temperament an evolutionist. He takes life to-day as he finds it, and, one step at a time, proceeds to a better to-morrow. Mr. Roosevelt is temperamentally an Anglo-Saxon. He is both an idealist and an opportunist—an idealist in his ends, an opportunist in his methods. He has little respect

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for the reformer who disregards the facts of life and expects to reform the world by a resolution. But he has less for the man who has no ambition to leave the world better than he finds it. How to adjust idealism and opportunism, how to live for a future ideal but in the actual present, how to face the facts as they are and not lose the ambition to make them better, is a perpetually shifting problem which no man can perfectly solve. Mr. Roosevelt is berated, on the one hand, by the practical politician for not being practical, and, on the other hand, by the reformer and by the scholar in his closet for sacrificing ideals to practical politics; these neutralizing criticisms of his course afford an indication that he is at least endeavoring to find the middle path of practical efficiency, whether he always walks in it or not.

His indomitable energy and his courage have given him, in certain quarters, the reputation of having a combative temperament and being a lover of war, and have made some men, who have not studied his character, unable to understand how Mr. John Hay could characterize him as a lover and maker of peace. Mr. Roosevelt has the temperament which leads him to enjoy overcoming obstacles. An easy life would be no joy to him. In 1200 he would have been a crusader, in 1700 a colonist, in 1800 a pioneer. With him, to see danger and difficulty is to covet the privilege of facing the one and endeavoring to overcome the other. He could not easily remain a passive spectator of a righteous war. He believes in the Biblical aphorism, "First pure, then peaceable;" and as long as the impurity exists he is eager to make war against it. But he loves not fighting for the fighting's sake. I should say it is equally true that he does not love peace for peace' sake. He is a lover of life. And as long as there is a country to be saved, a humanity to be helped, a truth to be taught, a life to be enlarged and enriched, and obstacles to be overcome in the world's work, so long he will be seen somewhere in the front, if not as a leader then as a follower, if not as a master builder then as a brick-carrier, ambitious only, certainly chiefly, for an opportunity to do the hardest work, confront the greatest difficulty, and be wherever there is the greatest danger.

How a Few Business Men Began Bible Study

By Burton Alva Konkle

THAT the college settlement principle is needed in religious life as well as intellectual life has long been a suspicion no larger than a man's hand on my horizon; but a recent experience in the Presbyterian church at Swarthmore, a suburb of Philadelphia, has advanced that suspicion to a conviction. It is hard for an old Christian to look at either Bible study or life from the viewpoint of a new arrival; in the case of some of us the operation was absolutely startling.

Swarthmore is a college town and suburb whose business men go into Philadelphia every day. An interdenominational Men's Club was launched last year, with an organization like the Young Men's Christian Association, and with that society's purposes and policies, although it was in our Presbyterian Memorial Hall. The different committees' work grew gradually, and although our talented and devoted pastor, Mr. Jackson, pressed that of the Bible Committee, the men would not take hold. The pastor opened an adult Bible class in the Sabbath-school, but still the men were indifferent to it. Suddenly, along in December, I believe, the reason burst upon us like a bolt from a clear sky.

It was at a business meeting of the club. Other committees were prospering, why not this one?

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"Is there not something that can be said," the presiding officer of the evening began, "which will put us in touch with this work? I believe ninety per cent. of the men of this club want to study the Bible, provided the methods are as suitable to men as infant class methods are to infants. For one, I believe men want the Bible itself in their hands—keep out everything that would come between the Bible and the man—away with lesson leaves. Cannot men who study such difficult problems as our men face every day be trusted to try their own teeth in chewing those of this book? We have struck so many teachers, lesson leaves, commentaries, and helps between men and the Bible itself that hard-headed men will have none of it."

There were probably thirty men present, representing nearly all classes of business and professional life. Every one of them was alert in an instant. "Furthermore," continued the speaker, "I believe men do not want a teacher-and-class kind of work. Every man here cares more to hear the impressions the book makes on *every* and *all other men here* than on any one man, however excellent he may be—and we know we have one to be proud of. I believe church members have become as dependent on the interpretation of pastors and commentaries as ever Roman Catholics were in the days of Luther. I want what the average man gets by putting his brain and heart next to a page of the Bible; the men want thirty teachers and thirty students—a seminar, a directors' meeting, a council, or whatever you may call it."

By this time a half-dozen men wanted to speak, and the pastor's eyes were wide open in glad amazement.

"Yes," said another man, "and men want a Bible not dressed in the shoe-buckles and powdered hair of two centuries ago, but in the plain garb of books of to-day. I believe many a man is turned away from it as he would from you or me if we should approach him in antiquated dress. Let us have a revised version."

"Why," interjected the pastor, "it surprises me beyond measure that the men here have been thinking this seriously about the Bible. Go on; let us hear some more." He, too, wanted to hear the thought of thirty men rather than one man, and he didn't have to wait.

"I remember a short time in Sabbath-school," said another, "and the knowledge I gained was so scrappy-like. If we could get at the Bible systematically, as business men do other things, I would like it. Why not study it by books? I would laugh at myself if I took ten verses of a play like 'Hamlet'—we study other things in wholes." He was followed by another who wanted to study by characters—from Adam on down; but attention was soon diverted from this point by, as I recall it now, a captain of the Union forces at Gettysburg.

"Why should we study the Bible together," said he, "if we are afraid to say just what we believe it means to us? How can any one help us unless he knows exactly what we think about it? If every man will face the page and tell us just what he himself sees, I'm one of you." [Hear! Hear! That's right! Sure!" came from a half-dozen voices.]

The meeting was by this time tense with interest—I had almost said excitement—for the men were dead in earnest, church member and non-church member alike. Another insisted that the proposed conference should be of men alone. "Women's presence," he continued, "constrains some men and prevents free expression, and men do not study in the same way. We shall have enough difficulties; let us reduce them to a minimum." Another said Sunday was his rest day with his family. "If you will begin sharply at 2:30 and close as sharply at 3:30," said he, "just as promptly as I am compelled to manage my business, I'll be here." But probably as impressive a remark as was made came from as hard-headed a man as there was in the club—one whose twinkling humor could be as big rocks shied at a project when he chose; and he was always listened to with attention. He was the treasurer of a big Philadelphia house.

"We evidently propose doing something," he began. "Now I don't care

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how many angels can stand on the point of a needle, or what cut of coat Abraham wore, but you men evidently mean business, and if you propose coming here to get out of that old book what will throw light on problems that are serious ones to us all—to make me see more clearly and act more nearly right the following week—count me in." No principle took greater hold on the men than this one.

The result was that two Sundays were used to canvass more definite plans as to just what was or what was not wanted, and finally a compromise was made on the tentative plan of beginning, with a Revised Version, at the first chapter of Genesis. The conference increased and held full and strong until hot weather and vacation time. Never have I seen a work that bore the fresh spirit of personal interpretation of the Bible as this one did; never have I seen more vital, serious work done. There was virtually a revival on among the men of our suburb inside of a month—a revival of a permanent kind. A group of lively younger men, who, as one expressed it to me, "wouldn't have the courage to butt in with you older fellows, and yet we want to say our say, too," organized a conference of their own, and one expressed the belief that there was room for still another among those who had just reached the age when "Sunday-school" seems effeminate. The women began to ask why there was not a plan suited to them, and that will probably come next; they can't solve everything at once. This was *the* religious experience of the year in our suburb. The results of it appeared in the pastor's excellent sermons, and the conference often asked him to preach on certain subjects. He was the leader of the conference, though he had no more to say than any one else. It had a chairman and secretary and treasurer besides, and was held in a room separate from the Sabbath-school. The above principles were carried out in letter and spirit.

"How soon will the Bible conference begin again?" was one of the first post-vacation queries I heard from a brown-faced young fellow on the train.

Is not this phenomenon very suggestive?

Some Backgrounds of English

By Clarence Eugene Blake

OUR language, the most familiar fact of life, is the most interesting and the least known. Its beauty and color are hidden by common handling. Jacob Grimm, the German linguist, says that it possesses "a veritable power of expression such as perhaps never stood at the command of any other language of men; . . . in wealth, good sense, and closeness of structure, no other of the languages at this day spoken deserves to be compared with it." A great writer has said, "In a language like ours, where so many words are derived from other languages, there are few modes of instruction more useful or amusing than that of accustoming young people to seek for the etymology or primary meaning of the words they use. There are cases in which more knowledge of more value may be conveyed by the history of a word than by the history of a campaign." "Languages reflect the history of nations; and, if properly analyzed, almost every word will tell us of many vicissitudes through which it passed on its way from central Asia to India or to Persia, to Asia Minor . . . the British Isles, America."

The early political history of England was largely responsible for the existence of the English tongue. "Had the Plantagenets," says Macaulay, "as at one time seemed likely, succeeded in uniting all France under their government, it is probable that England would never have had an independent existence. The noble language of Milton and Burke would have remained a rustic dialect, without a literature, a fixed grammar, or a fixed orthography, and would have been contemptuously abandoned to the boors." Müller says that "language is thicker than blood." "When the Hindus

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learnt for the first time that their ancient language, the Sanskrit, was closely connected with . . . that uncouth jargon spoken by their rulers, they began to feel a pride in their language and their descent, and they ceased to look upon the pale-faced strangers as strange creatures from another . . . world." He quotes from Horatio Hale: "When the people of Hindustan in the last century came under the British power, they were regarded as a debased and alien race. . . . The proudest Indian prince was only a 'nigger.' This universal contempt was retorted with a hatred as universal, and threatening most disastrous consequences to the British rule. Then came an unexpected and wonderful discovery. European philologists discovered that the classic mother tongue of northern Hindustan was the elder sister of the Greek, the Latin, the German, and the Celtic languages. At the same time a splendid literature was unearthed, which filled the scholars of Europe with astonishment and delight. The despised Asiatics became not only the blood relations, but the teachers and exemplars, of their conquerors. The revulsion of feeling on both sides was immense. . . . Even in the Mutiny, which occurred while the change was yet in progress, a very large proportion of the native princes and people refused to take part in the outbreak. It may safely be affirmed, at this day, that the discovery of the Sanskrit language and literature has been of more value to England . . . than an army of a hundred thousand men." All of us who speak Aryan tongues have, in common with Hindus, Persians, Armenians, and others, certain words which we carried away together from our long-forgotten home in the highlands of Asia. Father and mother, brother and sister, horse, cow, dog, and the name of the Deity "are so little changed that even now, if carefully cleaned and placed under the microscope of the scholar, they appear almost identical."

Almost every word that we use has a background, but it is so hidden by age that it must be brought to the light. No one can understand "the life and growth of a language without an historical knowledge of the times in which that language grew up." Many of our commonest words take us back to the time when Norman and Saxon lived together in England as two distinct peoples, in the relations of ruling and subject classes. "Sovereign," "throne," "homage," "royalty," "duke," "count," "treasurer," are Norman words; "boor," "hind," "spade," "plow," "wheat," "oats," are Saxon words. Saxon names attach to the live domestic animals, as "ox," "cow," "steer," "calf," "sheep," "swine," "deer;" but when the same had been killed and dressed for the table, their names were Norman, as "beef," "veal," "mutton," "pork," "venison." The Normans gave us "palace," "hall," "table;" but the Saxons gave us "the dearer names" of "hearth," "house," "roof," "board." Of "yes, sir," "yes, ma'am," "yes" is Anglo-Saxon, "sir" (senior) and "ma'am" (Latin, *mea domina*, my mistress) are Norman. "Frank" is a relic from chivalry. The Franks were a noble people who scorned a lie, respected their word, and honored the nobler qualities. Conquerors among inferior and degraded tribes, their name became a synonym of noble character. "Panic" goes back to mythology. The Greeks thought the god Pan sometimes appeared in battle and, by his cry, inspired the soldiers with a sudden terror. "Miscreant" comes from the Crusades, when it meant simply *misbeliever;* prejudice attributed all badness to those who did not believe in Christianity, hence the present sense. Duns Scotus was one of the ablest scholars of his time. At the Revival of Learning his school defended the old traditions with great ability. But the old was bound to give place to the new, and the "Duns Men" came into disfavor. Hence "dunce" acquired an opposite meaning from its original. "By 'lumber' we are taught that the Lombards were the first pawnbrokers in England, a 'lumber-room' being a 'Lombard's room' where the pawnbroker stored his pledges." "Signing" a name carries us back to the time when few could read or write, when the sign or cross put under his name, which some one else had written for him, was

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the only signature that noble or king could put to a legal paper. "Calculate" comes from *calculi* (pebbles), once used in calculations before arithmetic was generally known. A "jovial" man was born under the planet Jupiter (Jove), the happiest star of all. "Heaven" is from *to heave*, and it tells us that men once believed that it had been *heaved* (heaven) *up* to its position. "Wrong" is perfect passive participle of *to wring*, i.e., *wrung* or *twisted* from the right. "Strong," a participle of *to string*, dates back to the use of bows; for a strong man has his sinews (bow-strings) firmly *strung*. In "trivial" we see *tres viæ*, the corners where three ways meet, where the idle and worthless have ever wasted their time in gossip. "Blackguard" meant originally the menials who cared for the kitchen utensils of a court honsehold. "Wheat" was *the white*, from its color when ripe. "Moon" is from a Sanskrit root *to measure*, "called by the farmer *the measurer*, the ruler of days and weeks and seasons, the regulator of the tides, the lord of their festivals, and the herald of their jubilee assemblies." By derivation, "fate" was what *had been spoken* or *decreed*, hence could not be changed. The word "government" (from Latin *gubernare*) could have originated only in a seafaring community.

Some of the most ordinary English words are very much alike in sound. If these, also, have a similarity of meaning, we have a right to infer that they have a common origin. "To bear," "burden," "barrow," "bier," "birth," "bairn" (that which is born), "barley" (that which the earth bears), "barn" (barley house), are related to one another through the root *bar* with its variable vowel. "School" originally meant *a halt* or *rest*. To the Greeks, lectures, discussions, etc., were *a rest* and *pleasure;* so they called them σχολή (scholé). Many words are not derived from roots, but are imitations of sounds, like "click," "cuckoo," "hiss."

Language indicates the character and experiences of a people. In our own case, its versatility is not appreciated. "Much depends on the speaker, for you may say almost anything in English, if you know how to do it." Also there is more than a suggestion in the fact that "we have not nearly so many words to express joyous emotions as we have to express sorrow." Among the first words found in the dictionary are "abuse," "alarm," "alas," "anguish," "affliction," "avarice," and very many like them—not rare words, but those in common use. Our tongue is richer "in words setting forth sins than in those setting forth graces." Numerous terms have been dragged down from their original meanings to baser uses, as "retaliate," "animosity," "prejudice." "Animosity" once meant *spiritedness*, as is shown by the derivation. "Resentment" was originally either gratitude for good or enmity for evil that had been done one. That only the latter sense is now used shows that our sense of injustice is stronger than our sense of benefits. The same explanation applies to "retaliate." A few words show the goodness in men's hearts in having been lifted from lower to higher uses. "Evangels" was once only *messengers*. "Paradise" was a *park*. Our language is rich in home-words, and English-speaking peoples especially value the home life. Some tongues have no words for *home*, and their peoples lack a true conception of the institution. The derivation meaning of "passion" is *to suffer*. What a witness to the weakness and helplessness of one who is in the grip of a controlling impulse!

Proper names are largely relics of historic conditions. "Smith" (one who smites the iron) suggests the commonness of this important member of an ancient community, so necessary to supply the much-needed articles of husbandry and incessant wars. We once heard of a Mr. Onbehind, whose name probably suggests its own origin, as does that of the famous Indian, Rain-in-the-face.

Many words that were once part of our language have been dropped. Since 1611 three hundred and eighty-eight words have become obsolete, or one-fifteenth of the whole number of words in the English Bible. "Wanhope" was used for *despair* till Elizabeth's time. We find "dearworth" for *beloved*, "earsports" for *entertainments*, "mooned"

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for *lunatic*, "fore-talk" for *preface*, "sunstead" for *solstice*, "eyebite" for *fascinate*, "waterfright" for *hydrophobia*.

There is a constant tendency towards greater simplicity in modern English, with its one declension and its one genitive formation, compared with the Anglo-Saxon with its six declensions and various genitive forms. We are now going through the process of losing the subjunctive mood. The disappearance of the adjective termination "-en" is now taking place. "Gold" is no longer *golden*, nor "stone" *stonen*, nor "milk" *milken*; the substantive serves as adjective, its nature being indicated by position and use. The feminine termination "-ess" was formerly more common than now; the words that retain it are growing less. The feminine affix "-ster" has long ceased to be used as such, "spinster" being the only survivor. "Trickster," "huckster," "teamster," "youngster," "rhymester," "songster," and words of that class are no longer feminine by termination; while "songstress," "seamstress," etc., probably received the affix "-ess" after the signification of "ster" had been forgotten. Likewise the plural suffix "-s" was used to pluralize "chicken" after it had been forgotten that the word "chicken" itself was the plural of *chick*. The same simplifying tendency may be seen in the change from irregular verb forms to regular, a change still going on. A very large number of verbs that once had irregular perfects now have regular. "Shaped" was once *shope*, "baked" *boke*, "snowed" *snew*, "climbed" *clomb*, "swelled" *swoll*. Yet this simplifying of grammatical forms has not been at the expense of forceful expression. "The English, which, from the mode of its formation by a mixture of different tongues, has been stripped of its grammatical inflections more completely than any other European language, seems, nevertheless, even to a foreigner, to be distinguished by its energetic eloquence."

English lends itself to fine distinctions, and a failure to recognize different shades of meaning in synonymous words often leads one to appear to bad advantage. In giving an account of a fire lately, the morning paper said that "over a hundred families had been *evicted*." Again, "The report concludes with the statement that the *indignation* was committed by a person not in his right mind." Many carelessly use "authentic" for "genuine," "contrary" for "opposite," "instruct" for "educate," "boyish" for "puerile," "unreadable" for "illegible," and confound "loathe," "hate," "abhor," "detest," "shielded" and "hidden," "customary" and "common," "apt" and "likely," "this evening" and "to-night," "charity" and "love," "liberty" and "freedom," "earth" and "earthen," "wood" and "wooden." Our tongue has received contributions from many sources. Two, three, and even more words have been brought in that mean, in general, the same thing, but with more or less different shades of meaning. Many words have been introduced twice, as "fidelity" and "fealty" (from *fidelitas*), one directly from the Latin and the other through the French, each with a peculiar shade of meaning. So also with "species" and "spice," "tradition" and "treason," "blaspheme" and "blame," "persecute" and "pursue," "hospital" and "hotel," "faction" and "fashion."

Words in a living language often change. "Interposition" and "interference" are of Latin origin, and derivatively had the same sense; yet now they differ widely, the former being a friendly mediation acceptable to one or both the opposing parties, and the latter an unwelcome act. "Nice" (Latin *nescius*) long retained its derivative meaning, *ignorant*. "You" (plural) takes the place of *thou*, which has been dropped. Many words now vulgar were once proper—as "pate" for *head*, "to punch" or "thump," "skip" for *run*, "dumps" ("in the dumps"), "den." "Imp" implied honor and respect in the time of Spenser, who wrote:

> "Ye *imps* that on Parnasso dwell."

"Brat" was once used in a good sense,

> "O Abraham's *brats*, O brood of blessed seed!"

At first "religion" was only the outward forms, the external service of God, not the inward principle of piety as now it means. "Carriage" was *baggage*, not

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the vehicle that carried the load. "By and by" meant *immediately*, "kindly" was *natural*, "kindly fruits" were *fruits after their kind, natural fruits*. Once "carpet" was *covering for a table* as well as for a *floor*, "copy" was *abundance* (Latin *copia*); "corpse," the *living body* as well as the *dead*; "knave," a *boy*; "painful," *taking pains*. "Many things would not be *so painful* in the present sense if they had been *more painful* in the earlier." "Lurch" was formerly identical with "lurk," but with difference in spelling came difference in sense. "Prevent" (by Latin composition *to arrive beforehand*) has slipped from the sense of arriving at a point before another, and *keeping it for him* to *keeping it against him*, for "one may reach a point before another to *keep* or to *hinder him* there." "Promoter" was once a term of contempt, for a promoter promoted accusations against men. At first "uncouth" meant simply *unknown*. Its present meaning resulted from the dislike with which all nations regard that which they do not know. "To starve" was *to die any manner of death*. Once a "girl" meant *any young person*, male or female.

Some idea of the change in English since 1611, especially in the uses of pronouns and verbs, may be obtained from King James's Version of the Bible. Changes in pronunciation are taking place now. "Obleeged" for *obliged* we sometimes hear from old people of good standing.

The origins and original meanings of some words have been forgotten through changes of spelling. A "grocer" was a *grosser*, one who sold by the *gross*. "Grogram" or "grogran" was once *grosgrain* or *coarse grain*. "Jaw" was *chaw*, by which we see a connection with *chew*. Forgetting past forms and conditions has given rise to some idioms. Expressions like "many a boy," etc., are easily understood, but not so easily explained, for they violate the laws of grammar. Though now an adjective, "many" was originally a noun (from the old French) meaning *household*, "which meaning it constantly had in Wickliffe, and retained down to the time of Spenser." We still have it as a substantive in "a great *many*," "a good *many*," etc. The "a" is not an article, as is commonly thought, but the remnant of a hastily pronounced "of." The expression *a many of boys* (and the like) became, by careless pronunciation, after dropping the article "a," "many a boy," etc. In the same way *oaken* became "acorn;" *God be with you*, "good by."

The English language is, in the main, a compromise between Norman French and Anglo-Saxon; but "all its joints, its whole articulation, the great body of articles, pronouns, conjunctions, prepositions, numerals, auxiliary verbs, all smaller words which seem to knit together and bind the larger into sentences—these, not to speak of the grammatical structure of the language, are exclusively Saxon." During a large part of the formative period the influence that prevailed formed plurals by adding *s* or *es* to singulars. During other periods of our language's growth, other linguistic influences prevailed that made plurals by variation of vowels or other changes, as "brethren," which both changes the vowel and adds the suffix "en." Some words, taking influences from both directions, made plurals by both methods, and for centuries both were in common use, when one became obsolete. Many of these old forms still survive among the inhabitants of the Appalachian mountains and other retired sections. Different verb forms are explained in the same way. For a time both regular and irregular preterits of the same verbs were used, when one became obsolete.

A freak of our language is that it has "no names for smells." All that we can say of an odor is that it is the odor of violets or of roses, etc., always naming the source whence it comes; "but we have no name for the odor itself." So mainly of sounds. Our alphabet is evidently incomplete. Some letters have to do duty with several different sounds. The uncertainty in English pronunciation is due to the fact that words have come from so many different languages. It is well illustrated in such cases as "been," "ewe," "phthisic." In this connection it is interesting to note the different sounds the same letters have in different words; as *ea* in "creature,"

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"creator," "tread," "teach," "hearth," "pear," "earth" (note that *ea* in "earth" sounds like *o* in "worth"); *ui* in "juice," "biscuit," "build;" *ei* in "eight," "either," "seize;" *gue* in "argue," "fatigue," "pedagogue;" *au* in "gauge," "auger;" *ough* in "plough," "cough," "tough."

For those who are inclined to be careless in speech, it is profitable to note the relations and uses of some allied words, such as "sit," "set" (transitive), "set" (intransitive), "sat." A person *sits*, *sat*, or *has sat;* but the sun *sets*, *set*, or *has set*. In a transitive sense, one *sets* something down, or he may cause another to *sit*, or *sets* a date. Even educated people often use "shall" and "will," "should" and "would," as if there were no difference, and are equally careless in not observing the laws governing the sequence of tenses. There are many wrong expressions in common use, as "the four last" for "the last four," etc.; "under the circumstances," for "in the circumstances."

Many words are homonymous, as "cent," "scent," "sent;" "steak," "stake;" "sewer," "sower," "soar," "sore;" "right," "rite," "write;" "cite," "sight," "site;" "hours," "ours." Some words have the same spelling aud the same pronunciation, but are different words, having different origins. A large number of our words with identical spelling receive different pronunciations according to their uses, and are practically different words. These different meanings and pronunciations of the same terms may cause ultimate differences of spelling, and so bring two words out of one. This has often been the case in the past, as illustrated in "snake" and "sneak;" "nighest" and "next;" "history" and "story;" "custom" and "costume;" "borne" and "born;" "spear" and "spire;" "chivalry" and "cavalry;" "person" and "parson;" "cure" and "care;" "price" and "prize;" "poke" and "poach;" "dyke" and "ditch;" "breach" and "broach;" "lace" and "latch;" "bank" and "bench;" "wake" and "watch;" "chart" and "card;" "antique" and "antic;" "allay" and "alloy;" "propriety" and "property." A new word is sometimes coined to meet a need. "Selfish" is not more than two hundred years old. For a long time there had been no term to express this idea, when some of the Puritan writers coined this word on the Saxon base *self*.

A French View of Our Economic Development[1]

TO his well-known works "Les nouvelles Sociétés anglo-saxonnes: Australie et Nouvelle-Zélande, Afrique du Sud" and "La Rénovation de l'Asie (Sibérie-Chine-Japon") M. Pierre Leroy-Beaulieu, the eminent French publicist, has recently added a volume certain to command wide attention in the Old World, and deserving of no less consideration in the New. "Les Etats-Unis au XXe Siècle" is a conscientious and exhaustive attempt to take an inventory of the resources of the United States, and to unfold before European eyes the causes contributing to place the country "in a unique position which all may envy but which none can reach." M. Leroy-Beaulieu further endeavors—and this phase of his task holds perhaps the highest interest for American readers—to forecast our future economic development and its effects upon "old Europe." Basing his conclusions largely upon the figures of the latest census and the several analytical volumes issued in connection therewith, he has also made judicious use of statistics afforded by unofficial but authoritative publications, and has supplemented his technical researches by personal observation and the perusal of American magazines and newspapers, in order to be able to estimate still more correctly "the moral as well as the

[1] *Les États-Unis au XXe Siècle.* Par Pierre Leroy-Beaulieu. A. Colin et Cie., Paris, France.

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material factors in the progress and strength of the American people." It is proper to observe, however, that the "moral factors" receive comparatively scanty attention, a neglect which occasionally leads the writer, and particularly in the case of the race problem, to indulge in some curious deductions. Strictly speaking, the work is an examination from the material side, and as such is deserving of the highest praise, the four hundred and fifty-eight pages of text embracing a remarkable variety of useful information, statistics analyzed with painstaking care, facts well formulated, and illuminative comparisons with the conditions prevailing in other countries.

Following the report of the census, M. Leroy-Beaulieu finds five principal causes of our prosperity: our agricultural resources; our mineral resources; the development and perfection of our methods of transportation; our freedom of inter-State commerce, and our emancipation from ultra-conservative ideas and from ideas inherited from the past. His book opens with a study of our natural resources, emphasis being laid upon the fact that while climate and topography combine to negate the best efforts of a feeble indigenous population, no region in the world is so suitable for colonization as the territory now comprised in the United States. "For a civilization imported from abroad, by men who already have learned how to escape the violences of climate and how to control the forces of an exuberant nature, what a marvelous country is that of the United States! Its immense and level plains lend themselves admirably to cultivation on a large scale and to the economical establishment of railroads, thereby completing a splendid network of highways for the rapid transportation of the products of the earth. The diversity of altitudes and latitudes allows the cultivation of products of the temperate zone to be coupled with that of semi-tropical plants, such as cotton. Mineral wealth, too, of such importance to civilization, is immense; iron and coal especially, the muscles and blood of modern industry, are found in abundance and under conditions permitting their being easily worked. Moreover, the industrial prosperity of the country, which has been enhanced by the presence of beds of combustible minerals, promises not to lack a to-morrow, for water-power, whose supremacy is expected in the near future, is found in enormous quantities. Of all countries offered to the colonization of old Europe, the United States is assuredly the best endowed by nature."

Here, then, is a condition presupposing an active, energetic, and resourceful population. Such are the traits M. Leroy Beaulieu attributes to us to a pre-eminent degree, finding us impressive in quality as well as in numbers. We are "the product of a selection and of a double selection. . . . Only the boldest, the most enterprising, of men have the courage to traverse the sea for the purpose of carving out a new life in an unknown and distant land. Then, having arrived, only the most energetic, the wisest, and the most gifted in the spirit of organization succeed in a struggle which is more severe, more merciless to the feeble, in new countries than it is in old ones. Thus America, so to say, has skimmed Old-World society; that is why the human standard is higher there than in other countries." This state of affairs, it is contended, has obtained from the days of the Puritans and will continue to obtain. M. Leroy-Beaulieu is not of those who view latter-day immigration with alarm. Admitting that the newcomers from the south and southeast of Europe may temporarily "displace the equilibrium," he entertains no doubts of their ultimate assimilation. The native stock is too strong to permit us to be "overwhelmed," as in the case of Australia. At the moment when the tide of immigration set hither in earnest, he adds, we "possessed a solid substratum of ten million whites, with institutions, traditions, a sound spirit, and the capability of imprinting it upon the new arrivals. . . . The essential traits of American character were marked by 1830, and, although a little modified, survive to-day." That they will persist, no matter what the character of future immigration, is an argument based upon the assertion, supported by statistics,

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that "the majority of the white inhabitants of the United States to-day are the descendants of those who were in the country at the beginning of the nineteenth century, and who came thither from the British Isles."

A far more serious problem, in M. Leroy-Beaulieu's opinion, is involved in the "presence upon American soil of a mass of nine million people belonging to an inferior and inassimilable race." This problem, his readers are informed, has for many years remained quiescent "through a sort of tacit agreement" in all parts of the Union to ignore the rights of the negro, but is now approaching a crisis. Race prejudice, it is alleged, is fully as active in the Northern as in the Southern States. Taking no account of the progress made by the negro since emancipation, but emphasizing his sectional predominance numerically and his superior birth-rate, M. Leroy-Beaulieu regards him as forming a heavy impediment to National development. To the question of how this race problem may be solved he thus makes reply: "Education will doubtless assist in solving it, but it would be vain to believe that in a few years, or even in a few generations, it will be possible to elevate the negro to standards which it has taken our ancestors centuries to reach. If this could be done, it would prove the inferiority, not of the black race, but of ours, which we should not willingly admit and which would assuredly appear paradoxical. In truth, there is no absolute solution of the problem. Undoubtedly it will still cause much trouble; its existence keeps immigration away from one of the richest sections of the United States and fetters its progress. It is the punishment of slavery."

Following an exploration of the subject of our increase in population, the writer turns his attention to things agricultural, examining these, as is his wont, first as a whole and then by particulars, emphasizing the importance of the diversity of our cultures and deploying facts and figures relative to each. Our agricultural headship over the countries of the Old World is attributed to our greater use of machinery and the larger number of domestic animals at our command. But a serious defect is noted in the comparative non-use of fertilizers, and the assertion is made that, if Europe has much to learn from us, we may, in this respect at least, study Europe to advantage. The diminution of the Western movement and the increasing emigration to Canada are adduced as going to prove our need of adopting more scientific methods. Even with their adoption—which M. Leroy-Beaulieu deems certain, "so energetic and progressive is the American rural democracy"—it is argued that, in view of our increasing home demand and the non-increase of the overplus available for exportation, Europe need not henceforth look with lively apprehension upon our agricultural rivalry. "It is from the very new countries, Canada and the Argentine Republic, rather than from the United States, that the competition of the future will come."

In regard to industrial competition the case is very different. Europe must look forward to a new and formidable invasion. "We shall witness, during the first quarter of the twentieth century, a movement in the industrial sphere similar to that which we beheld in the agricultural during the last quarter of the nineteenth." M. Leroy-Beaulieu goes on to explain that to our anticipated industrial activity and the desire to secure new markets "in case European States shut their doors" may in a measure be attributed the extension of our "political influence." Our expansion, he continues, is "partially the result of the historical evolution which, beginning with the acquisition of Louisiana, has made the United States the most powerful country bordering on the Pacific; and partially is the result of the development of its industrial production. The economic competition of the New World has thus brought about political competition. For the one as for the other, the United States is powerfully armed. When it desires, it can have one of the strongest navies in the world, and it will doubtless so desire as soon as the Panama Canal is completed. Invulnerable at home, it can, without keeping up a large army, easily secure

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troops for foreign service, in the Far East or elsewhere, of a strength at least equal to that of the expeditionary forces of any other power."

The secret of our industrial supremacy is found in "the versatility of American industry; the rapidity with which it transforms itself; the splendid organization of commerce and of the means of transportation; the absence, among workmen, of the routine spirit and of prejudices against the use of machinery; the boldness of capitalists; the spirit of initiative in the captains of industry and the higher employees, always on the lookout for technical improvements and for gifted assistants." After a brief but exceedingly interesting historical sketch of our industrial growth, M. Leroy-Beaulieu enters with enthusiasm upon the arduous task of elucidating its manifold phases, probing into the inner workings of all of our major and several of our minor industries. He sturdily declines to regard the trust as typical of modern industry, seeing in it but an "excrescence of a too full-blooded body." Combination, in itself a good thing, is carried by the trust to a length which works its own destruction. The argument runs: "They do not really play the rôle in the development of American industry commonly attributed to them; they have never played it, and we do not believe that they ought to play it in the near future. With the exception of some, like the Standard Oil Company, which disposes of a quasi-natural monopoly, they are ephemeral organizations, resting upon an enormous abuse of paper, whose ability to resist adversity is feeble and whose influence is more apparent than real. Even now, business having slackened since the middle of 1903, the trusts are tottering and falling on all sides. . . . But, without a doubt, the solid foundations of American industries will not be touched."

M. Leroy-Beaulieu brings his work to a close by an elaborate statistical survey of our railroads and merchant marine, and by a characteristically informative exposition of the share of each of these in our march to the period when we shall have "established our economic preponderance over a great part of the earth, if not the entire world."

Books of the Week

This report of current literature is supplemented by fuller reviews of such books as in the judgment of the editors are of special importance to our readers. Any of these books will be sent by the publishers of The Outlook, postpaid, to any address on receipt of the published price, with postage added when the price is marked "net."

American Short Stories. (The Wampum Library.) Selected and Edited with an Introductory Essay on the Short Story by Charles Sears Baldwin, A.M., Ph.D. Longmans, Green & Co., New York. 5¼×8 in. 333 pages. $1.40, net.

Mr. Baldwin finds in the development of the American short story one warrant for asserting that we have a literary history. His introduction to the present volume is well considered and acute. He clearly indicates that his object is, not to collect the best American short stories, but to present by example the historic development of this form of writing. The selections here made are admirably adapted for this purpose. Several of them will be new even to the most omnivorous devourers of fiction. The special introductions to the stories are both biographical and critical.

At the Deathbed of Darwinism. By E. Dennert, Ph.D. Authorized Translation by E. V. O'Harra and John H. Peschges. German Literary Board, Burlington, Iowa. 5×8 in. 146 pages. 75c.

Arabian Nights' Entertainments (The). Edited by Clifton Johnson. (Pocket American and English Classics.) The Macmillan Co., New York. 4×5⅜ in. 258 pages. 25c.

Baby Elton, Quarter-Back. By Leslie W. Quirk. Illustrated. The Century Co., New York. 5×8 in. 201 pages. $1.25.

Balance: The Fundamental Verity. By Orlando J. Smith. Houghton, Mifflin & Co., Boston. 5×8 in. 286 pages. $1.25, net.

As an attempt to make out a perfect agreement between Science and Religion this seems to fall short. That action and reaction are equal and in opposite directions, that cause and effect are inseparable correlatives, are propositions as true in ethics as in physics. Equally indisputable is it that it is of far better consequence to do good than to do evil. So far the men of science and the men of faith are at one. But ethics is not the whole of religion, and the materialist and the theist part company on the questions whether a Righteous Will inhabits and rules

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the universe, and whether the righteous will of a mortal saint continues to exist beyond the veil of death. Here Science has nothing to say; she is limited to the visible world. The scientific spirit, however, may enable reason to give these questions an answer to which science can make no tenable objection. Mr. Smith has mistaken a partial for a complete argument, but he carries it convincingly until he attempts to pass from what is purely ethical to what is specifically religious. To speak of religion as the most venerable of the "institutions of men" betrays a serious misconception.

Bethink Yourselves. By Lyof N. Tolstoi. Translated by V. Tchertkoff and I. F. M. Thomas Y. Crowell & Co., New York. 5×7¼ in. 64 pages. 30c., net. (Postage, 5c.)

Blazed Trail Stories and Stories of the Wild West. By Stewart Edward White. McClure, Phillips & Co., New York. 5×8 in. 260 pages.

These are stories of the lumbermen of the Northern woods, and of the cowboys, scouts, and Indian fighters of the Western plains. Like Mr. White's other books, these stories show an intimate knowledge of the free life of the forest and the plains, and of the strong, primitive men of the lumber camps and the cattle ranches. It is to be regretted, however, that there is so much of the harsher and more brutal side of the wild life in them and so little of its romance.

British Sewage Works and Notes on the Sewage Farms of Paris and on Two German Works. By M. N. Baker, Ph.B., C.E. The Engineering News Publishing Co., New York. 6×9 in. 149 pages.

Captain John Smith. By Tudor Jenks. The Century Co., New York. 5×8 in, 259 pages. $1.20, net. (Postage, 11c.)

Evidently intended for young people, but older readers also will find this an instructive and entertaining book—and one in which the biographer brings good evidence to the support of his contention that the old school of historians have seriously wronged Captain Smith in making so prominent the two petty episodes of the Turkish duels and the rescue by the child of an Indian chieftain, thereby neglecting to show in right proportion the statesman, writer, navigator, explorer.

Christmas Eve on Lonesome and Other Stories. By John Fox, Jr. Illustrated. Charles Scribner's Sons, New York. 5×7½ in. 234 pages. $1.50.

Reserved for later notice.

Churches and Educated Men (The). By Edwin Noah Hardy, M.A. The Pilgrim Press, Boston. 5×8 in. 305 pages. $1.25, net.

The allegation that the Church is losing hold upon thoughtful men can be made only by the uninformed. The religious history of American colleges presented in this book conclusively refutes it. Mr. Hardy has digested the facts yielded by a study of every college founded earlier than 1825, and a large number of those founded later. From five per cent. of college undergraduates in 1800 who were avowed Christians the percentage has risen pretty steadily to over fifty at the present time. If, as Goethe thought, the future course of things can be augured from the convictions of young men under twenty-five, the outlook based on such a record is justifiably hopeful. Mr. Hardy's work is far from being of a dry, statistical sort. Its sketches of past conditions discourage any longing for "the good old times." As a contribution to religious history it is of high merit, though traces of carelessness appear. The allusion to "the death of Tom Paine, the infidel, as a common drunkard," is the least excusable of these.

Common Life (The). By J. Brierley, B.A. Thomas Whittaker, New York. 5×7¾ in. 312 pages. $1.40.

During the three years since this accomplished British essayist was first introduced to American readers he has gained wide and still growing appreciation. Whatever his topic—in this volume there are thirty-six—he has the merit of speaking to the point with brevity. Wide reading, keen observation, and a graceful style here combine to supply thoughtful but busy people with the intellectual refreshment, the ethical stimulus, and the spiritual uplift that they crave.

Complete Works of Daniel Defoe. In 16 vols. Edited by Gustavus Howard Maynadier. Thomas Y. Crowell & Co., New York. 5×8½ in. $16. Sold only in sets.

There still exist remarkable vitality and even modernity in all that Defoe wrote. He has often been called the first great realist, but he was essentially an imaginative writer, with the notable gift of making that which his fancy conceived seem plain, straightforward fact. How vividly he can deal with actual fact is shown in his "Journal of the Plague Year," while his power as a romancer, as shown in such books as "Captain Singleton," "Colonel Jaque," and the rather scurrilous "Moll Flanders," holds the attention even to-day of story-readers who happen upon these comparatively little-known books. The present complete edition of Defoe, therefore, has a proper place as aiding in the preservation of English literature. It is edited by Dr. G. H. Maynadier, of Harvard, who has also edited Fielding and Smollett for similar editions, and who writes with the authority born of thorough knowledge of early eighteenth-century literature. The edition itself is one of those achievements of the printing-press made possible only by modern inventions in paper-making and type-setting. That a set of sixteen volumes, in such an acceptable library edition, with etched frontispieces, and with special introductions by an editor of literary authority, can be put upon the market at the price above named is a notable feat of publishing.

Comradeship and Character: Sermons and Addresses to Young Men. By George Jackson, B.A., E. Griffith-Jones, B.A., and Others. Thomas Whittaker, New York. 4½×7½ in. 309 pages. $1.40. (Postage, 11c.)

The twenty discourses in this volume, contributed by twenty British ministers of

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prominence in several denominations, are fairly characterized by the title given to the collection. They are ethical and manly in tone and Christian in spirit—of a type eminently suited to the class of hearers specially addressed. The device adopted here, of printing the main points of the discourse in heavy-faced type, though novel, has its obvious advantage for the reader.

Courier of Empire (A): A Story of Marcus Whitman's Ride to Save Oregon. By John H. Whitson. Illustrated. The W. A. Wilde Co., Boston. 5¼×7¾ in. 315 pages. $1.50.

Daughter of the Revolution (A): A Leader of Society at Napoleon's Court. By Catherine M. Bearne. Illustrated. E. P. Dutton & Co., New York. 5½×8 in. 459 pages. $2.50, net.

The brilliant subject of this biography knew the French Emperor well many years before she had become, as wife of General Junot and afterward Duchesse d'Abrantès, one of the ladies of his court. Foremost among the interesting and unusual pictures the book presents is that of the Napoleon of her girlhood—the young cadet befriended by her family; an irritable, touchy, discontented lad, unhappy on account of his poverty and inferior position in the military school where he was being educated at the expense of the State. But Laure Permon herself is a character sufficiently forceful to hold the center of the stage even against such a celebrity, and first and last it is her own individual personal life that most properly interests the reader here, and the discriminating writer of her biography has well chosen her material to that end.

Defending the Island: A Story of Bar Harbor in 1758. By James Otis. Illustrated. Dana Estes & Co., Boston. 5½×8 in. 124 pages.

Denslow's New Series of Picture Books for 1904: Scarecrow and the Tin Man. Simple Simon. Animal Fair. Barnyard Circus. Mother Goose A B C Book. Three Little Kittens. Illustrated. 8×11 in. 25c. each. G. W. Dillingham, New York.

Early Relation and Separation of Baptists and Disciples (The). By Errett Gates, D.B., Ph.D. The Christian Century Company, Chicago. 6×9½ in. 124 pages.

Elementary Woodworking. By Edwin W. Foster. Illustrated. Ginn & Co., Boston. 5×7½ in. 133 pages.

Elinor Arden, Royalist. By Mary Constance Du Bois. Illustrated. The Century Co., New York. 5×8 in. 283 pages. $1.50.

Elinor Arden is a Cavalier's little daughter, after her father's death living in the home of a Roundhead uncle. Her story is charmingly and realistically told, making a vivid present-day matter of life and history nearly three centuries old.

Eschatology of Jesus (The): A Brief Study of Our Lord's Apocalyptic Language in the Synoptic Gospels. Delivered in the United Free Church College, Glasgow. By Rev. Lewis A. Muirhead, B.D. A. C. Armstrong & Son, New York. 5½×8¼ in. 224 pages. $1.75.

This is another of the scholarly and fruitful studies for which we are indebted to the Scottish manse. The author is not concerned to discuss in detail the sayings of Jesus that obviously relate to the unseen world beyond the grave, but rather to exhibit what he regards as the general attitude of Jesus' mind, as a Seer, toward all such subjects. Taking a view precisely the reverse of Weiss's "Jesus' Preaching of the Kingdom of God," he regards Jesus' eschatological utterances as lying in the circumference of his ethical teachings. Even his ethical sayings are at times elusive, much more his eschatological. These the Evangelists have not always understood, and have reported in misleading connections. "We may take it for certain," says Mr. Muirhead, "that Jesus did not bind himself to the assertion that the end of the world, and the supreme manifestation of the Messiah's glory, would take place within the lifetime of his own generation." We might add that "the world" that must collapse before the reign of righteousness can be realized on earth is the world of imperialism and sacerdotalism: this is the key to the eschatology that Jesus expressed in the canonical Scripture phraseology of his day. Mr. Muirhead gives large space to Jesus' designation of himself as "the Son of Man," now the subject of acute discussion among scholars. He holds it proven that in the original Aramaic used by Jesus it signified simply *man*, or *a man*, and was not a distinctively Messianic title. With H. Weisse he regards it as "an unstamped idea," under which Jesus chose to veil his secret consciousness of destiny to pass through service and suffering to glory. Whether Jesus thought of this for himself alone, or also for the humanity of which he was the ideal type, is a question obviously suggested, but foreign to the writer's purpose.

Essays of Joseph Addison. With an Introduction by Hamilton Wright Mabie. Thomas Y. Crowell & Co., New York. (Pocket Edition.) 4×6¼ in. 306 pages. 35c.

Expert Maid-Servant (The). By Christine Terhune Herrick. Harper & Bros., New York. 4×7 in. 139 pages. $1, net.

Facts and Figures: The Basis of Economic Science. By Edward Atkinson. Houghton, Mifflin & Co., Boston. 5½×8½ in. 202 pages. $1.50, net.

A reprint of papers comprising recent utterances by Mr. Atkinson on the tariff, reciprocity with Canada, trade-unionism, imperialism, and war. They express their author's well-known views with characteristic ardor and disregard for public opinion. With the exception of the last—an analysis of "the cost of war and warfare"—each treatise is largely a reiteration of ideas expounded in the others, and occasionally one finds not only identical thoughts but identical passages. We note that Mr. Atkinson places the cost of "criminal aggression and passive warfare" in the Philippines at $700,000,000, a striking contrast to the War Department figures recently submitted by Governor Taft at Indianapolis, showing that the military and administrative expenses on account of the Philippines totaled to May, 1902, $189,000,000, including the $20,000,000 paid under the Treaty of Paris, and that the present

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yearly cost to the United States is not in excess of $5,000,000.

Fetichism in West Africa. By Rev. Robert Hamill Nassau, M.D., S.T.D. Illustrated. Charles Scribner's Sons, New York. 5½×8½ in. 389 pages. $2.50, net.

The contributions of missionaries to science have been neither small nor unappreciated by scientific men. The present volume is a fresh installment of them. The scientific as well as humane interest with which Dr. Nassau, forty years ago, began to labor among savage negroes in West Africa appears in his modest statement that he "did not think it reasonable to dismiss curtly as absurd the cherished sentiments of so large a portion of the human race." He made it his habit to study the native thought as expressed in fetichism, a form of spiritism which discloses, as Professor Tiele says, "a longing of the religious soul which deserves our respect." The social customs, the government, the entire life of the West African natives, as dominated by this sort of religion, form the subject of Dr. Nassau's volume. He finds it also in "the American Negro Voodoo." The reduction of all his protracted observations to this well-arranged volume, which concludes with a most interesting chapter on "Fetich in Folk-Lore," has been performed in the intervals of ordinary missionary labor, producing a work of permanent value.

Finding the Way. By J. R. Miller, D.D. (Silent Times Series.) Thomas Y. Crowell & Co., New York. 4¼×6¾ in. 282 pages. 65c., net. (Postage, 8c.)

This latest of Dr. Miller's little books carries in its author's name sufficient commendation to a multitude of readers in various languages. "The way" it sets forth is the way of a normal and wholesome life, unselfish, cheerful, strong, patient, and religious to its core. Dr. Miller appeals frequently to the testimony of the poets, and his citations of their choice passages make up a small but precious anthology.

First Principles of Agriculture. By Emmet S. Goff and D. D. Mayne. Illustrated. The American Book Co., New York. 5×7½ in. 248 pages. 80c.

Fort in the Forest (The). By Everett T. Tomlinson. Illustrated. (The Colonial Series.) The W. A. Wilde Co., Boston. 5½×8 in. 341 pages. $1.50.

A capital story of the French and Indian War period in our colonial history. The youthful hero undergoes and accomplishes much, but nothing of it all lays the too heavy tax on the reader's indulgence commonly imposed by the average juvenile tale.

Francis E. Clark Year-Book: A Collection of Living Paragraphs from Addresses, Books, and Magazine Articles by the Founder of the Young People's Society of Christian Endeavor. Selected and Arranged by John R. Clements. United Society of Christian Endeavor, Boston. 5×7½ in. 152 pages. 75c.

Free America: Short Chapters Showing how Liberty brings Prosperity. By Bolton Hall. L. S. Dickey & Co., Chicago. 4½×6¾ in. 219 pages. 25c.

Geography of New York: The State—The City. By Floyd R. Smith and Arthur C. Perry, Jr. Illustrated. The American Book Co., New York. 5½×8 in. 135 pages. 40c.

Government of Ohio (The): Its History and Administration. By Wilbur H. Siebert. (Handbooks of American Government.) The Macmillan Co., New York. 5×7½ in. 309 pages. 70c.

A well-arranged and carefully written study and exposition of the constitutional and institutional development of Ohio, and of the structure and operation of the State Government. The survey proper is preceded by a brief historical sketch of the territory comprised in Ohio, and of the growth of the Government, Professor Siebert incidentally affording in small compass a good idea of the lines of demarcation between State and Federal powers. The work is thoroughly up to date, including in its scope the recent revision of the school code, election laws, etc., and may be accepted as an authoritative handbook. It is supplied with some useful appendices—a chronological outline of the history of Ohio, salient clauses of the Constitution of 1851, the text of the ordinance of 1787 for the government of the Northwest Territory, and statistical tables.

Grammaire Française: A L'Usage des Élèves de L'Enseignement Secondaire. By Mary Stone Bruce. D. C. Heath & Co., Boston. 4¾×7¼ in. 290 pages.

Grammar School Algebra. By A. W. Potter. The American Book Co., New York. 5×7½ in. 152 pages. 50c.

Granny's Wonderful Chair. By Frances Browne. With an Introduction by Frances Hodgson Burnett entitled The Story of the Lost Fairy Book. Illustrated. McClure, Phillips & Co., New York. 5×8 in. 214 pages.

A reprint of a group of pleasantly told fairy stories written half a century ago, with an introduction by Mrs. Frances Hodgson Burnett, in which she gives a curious illustration of the way in which occasions are sometimes furnished unconsciously for the charge of plagiarism. This volume is very tastefully made and has a pleasant old-time flavor.

Greek Prose Composition for Use in Colleges. By Edward H. Spieker, Ph.D. The American Book Co., New York. 5×7½ in. 276 pages. $1.30.

Gulliver's Travels. By Jonathan Swift. Edited by Clifton Johnson. (Pocket American and English Classics.) The Macmillan Co., New York. 4×5¾ in. 241 pages. 25c.

Handbook of Biblical Difficulties (A). Edited by Rev. Robert Tuck, B.A. Funk & Wagnalls Co., New York. 5½×8¾ in. 568 pages. $1.75, net.

Harmonized and Subject Reference New Testament. Arranged by James W. Shearer. The Subject Reference Co., Delaware, N. J. 4×6¼ in. 649 pages. $1.50.

Ingenious rather than scholarly.

Heart's Quest (The): A Book of Verses. By Barton Grey. G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York. 5×8 in. 145 pages.

Henry Ward Beecher as His Friends Saw Him. Illustrated. The Pilgrim Press, Boston. 5½×8½ in. 135 pages. 75c., net.

This volume is unique in the number and variety both of its contributors and of its illustrations. No such collection has been made heretofore, and probably will never be

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made again, so do the years thin the number of those on whom the great preacher laid his magnetic touch.

Herbert Spencer: An Estimate and Review. By Josiah Royce. Fox, Duffield & Co., New York. 5×7¾ in. 234 pages. $1.25, net. (Postage, 10c.)

A sketch of Herbert Spencer by Josiah Royce assures by its announcement an intellectual treat. Spencer's great merit is found here in his attempt to form a mechanical theory of the types of evolutionary processes, a valuable pioneering work. As a philosopher he is characterized as showing "a beautiful logical naïveté." His ethical nobleness compensates for much imperfection in his philosophy. Upon his educational theory the remark is made that "there are some leaders of men who, with other moral training than his, have attained to loftier ideals than he ever knew. . . . Let us honor him for what he was. But let us be glad that he is not the trainer of our children."

Hermit of the Culebra Mountains (The). By Everett McNeil. Illustrated. E. P. Dutton & Co., New York. 5½×8¼ in. 322 pages. $1.50.

A boy's book of adventure of the usual type, the usual superabundance of incident, and the usual lack of naturalness or charm in character and narrative. Southern Colorado is the scene chosen by the author for his two young heroes' spectacular exploits.

Hills of Freedom (The). By Joseph Sharts. Illustrated. Doubleday, Page & Co., New York. 5×8 in. 296 pages. $1.50.

A good story of ante-bellum days, with an unusual plot, and character delineation of an excellence equally uncommon.

Hints on Revolver Shooting. By Walter Winans. Illustrated. G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York. 4½×7 in. 130 pages.

Historians' History of the World (The): A Comprehensive Narrative of the Rise and Development of Nations as Recorded by Over Two Thousand of the Great Writers of All Ages. Edited, with the Assistance of a Distinguished Board of Advisers and Contributors, by Henry Smith Williams, LL.D. In 25 vols. Vol. VIII. **Parthians, Sassanids, and Arabs. The Crusades and their Papacy.** Vol. IX. **Italy.** Vol. XIII. **France, 1815-1904. Netherlands.** Vol. XIV. **The Netherlands** (concluded). **The Germanic Empire.** Vol. XV. **Germanic Empire** (concluded). Vol. XVI. **Scandinavia, Switzerland, to 1715.** Vol. XVII. **Switzerland** (concluded). **Russia.** Vol. XVIII. **England to 1485.** Illustrated. The Outlook Co., New York. 5×10½ in.

Reserved for later notice.

How to Bring up Our Boys. By S. A. Nicoll. (What is Worth While Series.) Thomas Y. Crowell & Co., New York. 5×7¼ in. 64 pages. 30c., net. (Postage, 5c.)

Hundred Best English Poems (The). Selected by Adam L. Gowans, M.A. (Handy Vol. Classics, Pocket Edition.) Thomas Y. Crowell & Co., New York. 4×6¼ in. 216 pages. 60c.

Inner Life (The). By J. R. Miller. (What is Worth While Series.) Thomas Y. Crowell & Co., New York. 5×7¼ in. 32 pages. 30c., net. (Postage, 5c.)

In Search of the Okapi: A Story of Adventure in Central Africa. By Ernest Glanville. Illustrated. A. C. McClurg & Co., Chicago. 5½×7¾ in. 381 pages.

Two English youths with a more mature hunter herein visit the Dark Continent, seeking specimens of that recently discovered member of the giraffe family, the okapi, and intelligence of the father of one of the boys, an African explorer who had been last heard from many years earlier. The author gives good measure of adventure; animals, native tribes, and mystery providing proportionate stimulants to the reader's interest in the tale.

Introduction to Psychology (An). By J. Clark Murray, LL.D., F.R.S.C. Little, Brown & Co., Boston. 5×8 in. 517 pages. $1.60, net.

Professor Murray's book is judiciously adapted to the design announced in its title: it contains enough and no more than enough for an introduction to the science of mind, and that with clearness and simplicity of presentation. It is mainly objective and descriptive, and avoids entanglement with psychophysics on one hand and philosophy on the other. He rejects the hedonist and determinist theories of mental action, and regards the mind, or self, as transcending the world of objects to which it is related.

Japan: An Attempt at Interpretation. By Lafcadio Hearn. Illustrated. The Macmillan Co., New York. 5×8 in. 541 pages. $2, net.

Reserved for later notice.

Japan by the Japanese: A Survey by its Highest Authorities. Edited by Alfred Stead. Dodd, Mead & Co., New York. 5½×9 in. 697 pages. $5, net. (Postage, 24c.)

This volume, we are told, is the result of a visit made to Japan by Mr. Stead for the express purpose of persuading those most intimately acquainted with the facts to collaborate in the production of a work descriptive of all sides of Japanese progress—of the religious, social, educational, political, financial, military, and industrial institutions and the art and literature of Japan. The idea was received with enthusiasm, the cooperation of such leaders of Japanese thought and policy as Ito, Inouye, Yamagata, Okuma, Suyematsu, Ariga, and Shibusawa being secured. The written and oral words of these and other high Japanese authorities were placed at Mr. Stead's disposal, and by him have been compiled in the book before us. The undertaking was an admirable conception, but unfortunately it cannot be called eminently successful in execution, and for this Mr. Stead must chiefly be held responsible. The arrangement and editing of the selections is such as frequently to hamper rather than to assist the reader to an appreciation of the status of the Japan of to-day. Throughout the work loose editing is apparent. Conflicting dates and statements of fact, statistical errors, repetitive passages, have been allowed to stand. Taken severally, the accounts will be found both interesting and useful, and especially so in the direction of giving an idea of the spirit and aspirations of the foremost molders of public opinion in the island kingdom. But as a whole, as affording an authoritative and clear-cut picture of modern Japan, the book is a disappointment. The disappointment

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is the greater in view of the tone of Mr. Stead's preface, which itself stands somewhat in need of revision. To advance as the *raison d'être* of the work "the absence of authoritative writings" must evoke awkward questions from the admirers of, say, Chamberlain, Aston, Satow, and Brinkley.

Junior Topics Outlined 1905: A Lesson for Every Meeting, Illustrated by Object Lessons, Chalk-Talks, Illustrative Stories, Missionary and Temperance Plans. By Ella N. Wood. United Society of Christian Endeavor, Boston. 4¾×7¼ in. 131 pages. 50c.

Kibun Daizin; or, From Shark-Boy to Merchant Prince. By Gensai Murai. Translated by Masao Yoshida. Illustrated. The Century Co., New York. 5×7½ in. 164 pages. $1.25.

A reprint from "St. Nicholas" of the true story of a Japanese lad's rise from poverty and obscurity to affluence and fame. This translation will be pleasing to boys as a story merely. Older readers will perceive in its record of ambition and achievement a sidelight on Japanese character especially illuminating at the present period of universal interest in this wonderful people.

Kingdom of Siam (The): Ministry of Agriculture, Louisiana Purchase Exposition, St. Louis, U. S. A., 1904, Siamese Section. Edited by A. Cecil Carter, M.A. Illustrated. G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York. 5×7¾ in. 280 pages. $2, net.

Various officials in the service of the Siamese Government have contributed to the production of this account of Siam in the beginning of the twentieth century. It is suggestive rather than exhaustive—a statement in outline of the country's condition and resources, and will be welcomed as an authoritative pronouncement concerning a land of which comparatively little is known save from the writings of travelers who too often lack the insight necessary to a sympathetic interpretation. From it we gather that Western civilization is at last beginning to make a distinct impress on "The Land of the White Elephant," long one of the most backward countries of the Far East, and that under the stimulus of the energetic monarch, Chulalongkorn, marked progress may be expected. Indeed, the author of the chapter on the royal family does not hesitate to affirm that the Siamese people "are destined to take a prominent position among the civilized nations of the world," a statement in which the wish is manifestly father to the thought. There is not lacking, however, conclusive evidence that Siam is on the path to better things; and although some of the facts and figures here presented must leave a disagreeable impression on the Occidental mind, consideration of the situation as a whole leads to the conclusion that the optimistic tone characteristic of the work has a substantial basis.

League of the Ho-De-No-Sau-Nee or Iroquois. By Lewis H. Morgan. (A New Edition with Additional Matter.) Edited and Annotated by Herbert M. Lloyd. Two vols. in one. Illustrated. Dodd, Mead & Co., New York. 6×9¾ in. 332 pages. $5, net. (Postage, 30c.)

It is over half a century since Morgan's "League of the Iroquois" first appeared. Written "to encourage a kinder feeling towards the Indian, founded upon a truer knowledge of his civil and domestic institutions and of his capabilities for future elevation," it served the further purpose of blazing a trail to the scientific study of primitive man. Lewis H. Morgan, as Mr. Lloyd declares in his illuminating introduction, may justly be hailed as a pioneer in modern ethnology. There is thus a historical justification for the reprinting of the "League" in which the fruits of his researches first found adequate expression. The work is, however—and this despite the errors into which Morgan was led chiefly through his sympathetic idealization of Iroquois characteristics, traits, and institutions—well worthy of re-presentation for its own sake. As annotated by Mr. Lloyd its value is greatly enhanced, for, while adhering to the original text, he has been at pains not only to make all doubtful passages clear, but to rectify statements which later investigations, and in no small measure the investigations of Morgan himself, have proved erroneous. The present edition is a sumptuous production, in every way a fitting memorial to the enthusiastic and indefatigable ethnologist.

Leaves for Quiet Hours. By George Matheson, F.R.S.E., D.D., LL.D. A. C. Armstrong & Son, New York. 5×7½ in. 288 pages. $1.25.

Dr. Matheson's devotional writings have the peculiar merit of combining the insight of the thinker with the fervor of the worshiper. His belief is that "the hours of our deepest devotion are precisely in those moments when we catch fresh glimpses of hidden things." His type of thought is that of the poet or seer, and his work is prized by those who make imagination helpful to religion. The short papers collected in this volume have appeared at various times in religious journals. Their variety is indicated by such titles as "The Ambulance Corps," "The Sacredness of Art," "Criminal Reformation," "God's Bereavement."

Life of Sir Walter Scott. By J. G. Lockhart. Illustrated. Thomas Y. Crowell & Co., New York. 5¼×8½ in. 652 pages. $1.50.

This is and always will be one of the world's great biographies.

Little Colonel in Arizona (The). By Annie Fellows Johnston. Illustrated. L. C. Page & Co., Boston. 5×8 in. 313 pages. $1.50.

Mrs. Johnston's boys and girls are human and interesting children—not the prigs and prudes or otherwise unnatural youngsters often met in the pages of juvenile fiction; and her story and theirs in the present volume is as wholesome and pleasing as any one of the several other deservedly popular books written by this author.

Little Grey House (The). By Marion Ames Taggart. McClure, Phillips & Co., New York. 5×8 in. 267 pages.

A pleasantly written story for young girls, with sufficient incident and wholesome ideals, but with a touch now and then of sentimentality.

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Lost Art of Reading (The). By W. Robertson Nicoll, M.A., LL.D. (What is Worth While Series.) Thomas Y. Crowell & Co., New York. 5×7¼ in. 32 pages. 30c., net. (Postage, 5c.)

Lyman Beecher. By Edward F. Hayward. The Pilgrim Press, Boston. 5½×8½ in. 114 pages. 75c.

Lyman Beecher was the spiritual son of Timothy Dwight the elder, whose work at Yale a century ago has been said to have done for the religious life of our country what Washington did for its political life. During the first half of the nineteenth century, Beecher, following the leadership of Dwight, was in the front rank of the Church militant, both as a theologian and a reformer. Those who do not possess the two volumes of his "Autobiography" should read this desirable book, a succinct and appreciative outline of a strenuous and noble life that deserves long and honorable remembrance.

Maid of Orleans (The). Translated from the German of Frederick Henning by George P. Upton. A. C. McClurg & Co., Chicago. 5×7¾ in. 135 pages.

Messages of the Masters. By Amory H. Bradford, D.D. Illustrated. Thomas Y. Crowell & Co., New York. 4¼×6¾ in. 256 pages. 65c., net. (Postage, 8c.)

Had these "Messages" been preached from texts instead of paintings, they could hardly have gained in effectiveness or in originality and comprehensiveness of treatment. To what we thus said of the first edition the announcement of the present edition requires only the added remark that, while printed from the same plates, it has been less expensively gotten up to meet a popular demand.

Mixed Beasts: Rhymes and Pictures. By Kenyon Cox. Illustrated. Fox, Duffield & Co., New York. 5×7½ in. 132 pages. $1.

National Documents: State Papers so Arranged as to Illustrate the Growth of our Country from 1606 to the Present Day. (The Unit Books.) Howard Wilford Bell. 4½×7 in. 496 pages. 72c., net.

Never-Never Land (The). By Wilson Barrett. The J. B. Lippincott Co., Philadelphia. 5×7¾ in. 392 pages. $1.50.

A highly colored romance, whose field of action covers two continents (Australia and North America), a part of the most important island in the world (England), and takes in also the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans—which feat of nearly circling the globe does not appear to have exhausted Mr. Wilson Barrett. Witness his last word in this melodrama, relative to one of its most impossible *dramatis personæ:* "And Smudgee! Ah! dear little Smudgee! Her story has yet to be told!" The reader who reaches this conclusion may wish to add on his own account one or two exclamatory points by way of protest; but he will surely be too fatigued, if the author is not.

New France and New England. By John Fiske. Illustrated. Houghton, Mifflin & Co., Boston. 6×9 in. 338 pages. $4, net.

Hardly any other of Mr. Fiske's books lends itself better to the purpose of illustration. The portraits, reproductions of old cuts, and other pictorial material here included have evidently been chosen with knowledge and skill. The form (which this particular volume has in common with other of Mr. Fiske's historical works already put forth in this edition) makes it eminently suited for library use, whether public or private, while its attractiveness makes it also desirable as a holiday gift.

On Hyacinth Hill. By Mary F. Leonard. Illustrated. The W. A. Wilde Co., Boston. 5×7½ in. 262 pages. $1.

Parody Anthology (A). Collected by Carolyn Wells. Charles Scribner's Sons, New York. 4½×7 in. 398 pages. $1.25, net.

Some capital parodies are here, also some which the world could well let die. Despite Miss Wells's lively introduction, it remains true that the parody is the most abused form of poetical art. Calverley and Thackeray and a few others did good work, and there are not a few single anonymous examples of merit, but to many parodists imitation without real humor is all too easy.

Phœnix and the Carpet (The). By E. Nesbit. Illustrated. The Macmillan Co., New York. 5×7¾ in. 257 pages. $1.50.

A jolly story of a quartette of children who rejoice in the possession of a real wishing-carpet, on which they make marvelous journeys under the guidance of a Phœnix.

Power of Silence (The). By Horatio W. Dresser. (Second Edition, Revised and Enlarged.) G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York. 5×7½ in. 356 pages. $1.35.

Such a book as this is a good prophylactic, a wholesome antidote, for the materialistic cupidities and anxieties that eviscerate life of its inmost value. It is a good alterative and tonic for those that are not sufficiently religious to live in the spirit and to find rest to their souls. It was a good book when first put forth, and has been greatly bettered in the rewriting and expansion it has received. Especially is this apparent in its pronounced affirmation of theistic truths, and its cautions against the mistakes to which mystics are prone. It is thoroughly practical in its aim to apply to individual living the truths of religion, philosophy, and ethics, for the culture of the art of spiritual life through a true understanding of one's self, and a development of the ideal consciousness of which ideal character is the fruit.

Princess Thora (The). By Harris Burland. Illustrated. Little, Brown & Co., Boston. 5×7½ in. 360 pages. $1.50.

Principles of Cookery: Part I., II., and III. By Anna Barrows. Illustrated. The American School of Household Economics, Chicago. 5×8 in. Paper bound, 50c. each.

Reaper (The). By Edith Rickert. Houghton, Mifflin & Co., Boston. 5×8 in. 341 pages. $1.50.

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Records (The). By Cyrus Townsend Brady. Illustrated. The G. W. Dillingham Co., New York. 4¾×7½ in. 321 pages. $1.50.

Mr. Brady has called this collection of four-

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teen short stories "The Records" because, he tells us in his preface, "in nearly every tale there is at least a basis of truth." That, and they, may all be true; but there is need of this certificate of veracity to sustain some of them. Others of their number are both interesting and cleverly written.

Rivals and The School for Scandal (The). By Richard Brinsley Sheridan. Edited by Brander Matthews. (Pocket Edition.) Thomas Y. Crowell & Co., New York. 4×6¼ in. 270 pages. 35c.

A small, well-made volume which contains "The Rivals" and "The School for Scandal," with introduction, notes, and a biographical sketch by Professor Matthews, who is not only an accomplished student of the drama, but whose work in this volume has been both a labor of intelligence and of love.

Roland of Altenburg. By Edward Mott Woolley. Herbert S. Stone & Co., Chicago. 4½×7¾ in. 350 pages.

A romance of the kind of which "The Prisoner of Zenda" was the first and the best. Prince Roland of the mythical principality of Altenburg, an American girl, a little German princess, and the politics and diplomatic quarrels of Altenburg and a neighboring State furnish the materials for a lively story of love and adventure.

School History of England (A). By Harmon B. Niver, A.B. The American Book Co., New York. 5×7½ in. 422 pages. 90c.

Selection from the Letters of Lord Chesterfield to his Son and his Godson, 1742-1772. Edited by Charles Welsh. (Handy Volume Classics, Pocket Edition.) Thomas Y. Crowell & Co., New York. 4×6¼ in. 355 pages. 60c.

Semiramis and Other Plays. By Olive Tilford Dargan. Brentano's, New York. 5×8 in. 255 pages. $1.25, net.

Seven Sorts of Successful Services: Suggestive Solutions of the Sunday Evening Problem. By Rev. James L. Hill, D.D. E. B. Treat & Co., New York. 5×7½ in. 224 pages. $1.

Shakespeare for Recitation: Selected Scenes and Passages. Edited by Ernest Pertwee. E. P. Dutton & Co., New York. 5¼×8 in. 224 pages. 60c., net.

Short Handbook of Missions (A). By Eugene Stock. Longmans, Green & Co., New York. 5×7½ in. 214 pages.

Soldiers of the Duke (The). By Eva Madden. Illustrated. The W. A. Wilde Co., Boston. 5×7¾ in. 279 pages. $1.25.

A charmingly written story of the little Prince William, Duke of Gloucester, Queen Anne's son, of whom the historian says: "In all that troubled, sinful, restless old time we see but one bright, happy figure, that of a little boy, bowing himself through history and dying before he became the King."

Songs from the Dramatists. Edited by Robert Bell. With an Introduction by Brander Matthews. Thomas Y. Crowell & Co., New York. 4×6¼ in. 320 pages. 35c.

Sons o' Men. By G. B. Lancaster. Andrew Melrose, London. 5×7¾ in. 299 pages.

Remarkably vigorous sketches of "a raw, new land"—New Zealand—and the strenuous life there led by the colonial Britisher, settled English, and native-born.

Synopses of Dickens's Novels. By J. Walker McSpadden. (Handy Information Series.) Thomas Y. Crowell & Co., New York. 4×6 in. 208 pages. 45c., net. (Postage, 5c.)

Ten Little Indians: Stories of How Indian Children Lived and Played. By Mary Hazelton Wade. Illustrated. The W. A. Wilde Co., Boston. 5×7¾ in. 247 pages. $1.

Third Century of Charades (A). By William Bellamy. Houghton, Mifflin & Co., Boston. 4×6 in. 85c., net.

Tragedie of Macbeth (The). By William Shakespeare. (First Folio Edition.) Edited by Charlotte Porter and Helen A. Clarke. Thomas Y. Crowell & Co., New York. 4×6½ in. 284 pages. 50c., net.

Tragedy of Saul (The): First King of Israel. By Lewis A. Storrs. The G. W. Dillingham Co., New York. 5×7½ in. 124 pages. 75c., net. (Postage, 10c.)

True Revival versus Torreyism (The). Edited by T. Rhondda Williams. The Unity Co., Chicago. 91 pages.

In this pamphlet, published in England, six British pastors of some prominence, Congregational and Presbyterian, record, with their reasons for it, their conviction that the missions which Dr. R. A. Torrey has been conducting in England "retard greatly the cause of religious progress" in various ways.

True Stories from New England History, 1620-1803. By Nathaniel Hawthorne. **Grandfather's Chair.** Edited by Homer H. Kingsley. (Pocket American and English Classics.) The Macmillan Co., New York. 4×5¾ in. 336 pages. 25c.

Twenty Famous Naval Battles: Salamis to Santiago. By Edward Kirk Rawson. Illustrated. Thomas Y. Crowell & Co., New York. 5×7¾ in. 730 pages. $2.

A new edition in one volume of this excellent and well-known history of naval warfare from the battle of Salamis to the destruction of the Spanish fleet at Santiago.

Vashti: A Poem in Seven Books. By John Brayshaw Kaye. (Third Edition.) G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York. 5×7½ in. 166 pages. $1.25.

War Chiefs (The): A Story of the Spanish Conquerors in Santo Domingo. By Frederick A. Ober. Illustrated. E. P. Dutton & Co., New York. 5½×8¼ in. 339 pages. $1.50.

A decidedly crude historical romance, which may, however, entertain the juvenile readers whom it is designed to please.

Whittlers of the Word of God. By Perry Wayland Sinks. The Fleming H. Revell Co., New York. 4½×7½ in. 60 pages. 40c., net.

William Tell. By Ferdinand Schmidt. Translated from the German by George P. Upton. Illustrated. A. C. McClurg & Co., Chicago. 4¾×6¾ in. 117 pages.

Works of Rudyard Kipling. (Outward Bound Edition.) Vol. XXII. **Traffics and Discoveries.** Illustrations by F. C. Yohn. Charles Scribner's Sons, New York. 5½×8½ in. 438 pages. $2, net, per vol.

It will be noted that Mr. Kipling's new volume of stories appears simultaneously in the collective form—the really beautiful "Outward Bound" edition with its separate issue. We shall comment later on the stories themselves.

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The Political Issues

A Free Parliament

Until the election we shall open our columns to a free discussion of the political issues involved in this campaign, reserving, of course, the right to reject any contribution; it will doubtless be quite impossible for us to publish all that will be sent to us. No personal abuse of either candidate will be allowed. Brevity is important, and preference will be given, other qualities being equal, to the shorter letters. Last week the debaters in this parliament were unanimous in support of the Democratic candidate. This week the advocates of Republican policies and principles take the most conspicuous place in the discussion.—THE EDITORS.

REPUBLICAN ANTI-IMPERIALISM

To the Editors of The Outlook:

You are quite correct in saying that the Republican and anti-imperialist (Democratic) positions on the Philippine question are radically different; and it is strange that neither of the Presidential candidates touched the kernel of the matter in his letter of acceptance. It is not merely a question of promising or not promising independence to the Filipinos, but it is chiefly a question of greatly changing the character of our political structure—whether we shall continue as a Federal Republic based on the consent of the governed, or become an Imperial Republic professing that we, the masters, know what is best for our satellite colonies.

But The Outlook is not correct in attempting to connect the divine theory of government with the Republican party. If that connection were true, the Republican party would never have freed the slaves, for the only possible basis of slavery is that same divine theory. Nor is it correct in inferring from the social compact theory that "we should sail away from the Philippines and leave the Filipinos to work out their own destiny." For there should be brotherhood among men, and nations may act the Good Samaritan as well as individuals.

As a Republican, I protest that The Outlook is doing harm to my party by its course in this Philippine question; and to some extent it is responsible for the indirection and lack of frankness shown by my party. The Republican party is *not* committed to a colonial policy. I have every confidence in the genuine Americanism of Roosevelt, Root, and Spooner, and firmly believe that they will not permit our party to imitate either monarchical England or imperial France in dealing with six millions of aliens whom the fortune of war has put in our care. The editor of an influential and strongly partisan paper in this city said to me the other day: "We would not support the Administration if we were not convinced that neither the Republican party nor the American people will create or permit a colonial system in our Government."

Nevertheless, it is well to consider whether our lack of frankness is not storing up wrath for us in days to come. As a result of it, the Filipinos will become generally Democrats, if they should be admitted into the Union under the Constitution. There are two other things that will be done in the future, and that might have been done in this campaign if it were not for the influence of some friends of the Filipinos who have not lost faith in the Republican party.

1. The Filipinos will raise a campaign fund for the Democratic party. There are many wealthy Filipinos who freely gave of their means in the past to support a newspaper in Madrid and a propaganda in Europe. These men will continue their sacrifices, and their contributions will not be to the party that will keep them in colonial subjection.

2. Furthermore, a newspaper is to be established in this country to agitate the question of Filipino rights. Its motto will be, "The Honor of America and the Welfare of the Philippines," and it may prove to be a thorn in the side of the party that dreams of colonialism,

DAVID J. DOHERTY.

Chicago, Illinois.

FROM AN INDEPENDENT DEMOCRAT

To the Editors of The Outlook:

In as few words as possible I will try to tell you why I, a person with some strong Democratic inclinations, intend to vote the Republican National ticket this fall.

We must all admit that the country at large has been benefited in some respects and harmed in others by the conduct of governmental affairs by the Republican party since it has been in power. Will the Democratic party correct any of the Republican abuses of power, and at the same time retain those Republican virtues which now exist, or a sufficient number of them, so that, generally, the affairs of the country will be better administered?

The main difference in the platforms is upon the tariff question. An issue might be spelled out of the two platforms, but it is of no great consequence, inasmuch as the Senate is to remain Republican for the next four years. This should be sufficient to assure every one that if there is any revision of the tariff, it cannot be accomplished

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unless the *friends* of the protective tariff consent to it.

I believe that the Philippines should ultimately be free and independent, but I cannot say that I think such a promise should be given them at this time. One must take advice from others sometimes, and this is such an instance. Those men who have been in the Philippine Islands, and who have worked hard to secure the sovereignty of the United States, and who are now active in their labors to lift the people to a higher plane of civilization, with considerable unanimity assert that such a promise would greatly hinder the work now being accomplished. It is only too true that those least fit for anything always think themselves most fit, and I fear that such a promise made at this time would not be good policy.

I might say right here that I am heartily and consistently opposed to imperialism, or that modern tendency among certain of our National characters which is unquestionably making the office of President more and more powerful and kingly every day.

These questions—that of the tariff and that of the treatment of the Philippines—are questions concerning our policy in the future. There are other questions concerning past policies during the administration of Theodore Roosevelt which are criticised by the Democratic platform, the principal one of which is our treatment of Colombia in the Panama matter. The sentiments of the Democratic platform in this respect I unhesitatingly indorse. I cannot conceive of a commercial advantage to be of such importance that it would warrant the violation of treaties and of the moral law, as I believe they were violated in this case. Whether this Government was a party to instigating the secession has not been proven, but the sudden recognition of Panama and the quick dicker for the Canal savor very strongly of a "put-up job." Nevertheless the Government of Panama has been recognized and the treaty made, and as both parties unite in asking for the completion of the Canal, the question of whether the Administration acted justly or not is of importance only as it indicates to a degree the tendency of the present Administration when questions like this arise—a tendency which I cannot too vigorously condemn.

The other is the question as to whether the President did not exceed his authority with respect to his famous Pension Order. I think that the Democratic platform justly criticised this order, and that it was promulgated for the purpose of making the old soldier vote solid.

These questions, I do not hesitate to state them, are ones upon which the Roosevelt Administration is to be criticised, and criticised strongly. I might include among them the appointment of Bryne, the friend of the notorious Addicks, as United States District Attorney in the State of Delaware.

But I must not only criticise. There are many things about the Roosevelt Administration which are commendable, which so offset my criticism that I am heartily sincere when I say that I consider the Administration of Theodore Roosevelt to have been, in the main, a good one. I consider the general workings of our Government to have been conducted along the lines of progressive statesmanship. In John Hay, as Secretary of State, I believe the country has had the services of one of the greatest of diplomats. I believe the prosecution of the trusts by Attorney-General Knox has been ably conducted, and that through his efforts the trusts are now much better under the control of the Government than they have been in the past. I believe the establishment of the Department of Commerce and Labor to have been a good thing, and that if Roosevelt is re-elected it will mean that the great corporations of the country will be supervised and regulated whenever the need for such supervision and regulation is shown.

It can be easily seen that I am not an enthusiastic Administration man, and I can assure you that I would unhesitatingly vote for Judge Parker if I were sure that he embodied Roosevelt's good qualities with his poor ones left out; if the question did not come back to me and keep persistently ringing in my ears, "Will the Democratic party correct any of the Republican abuses of power and at the same time retain those Republican virtues which now exist, or a sufficient number of them, so that, generally, the affairs of the country will be better administered?"

Is there anything about Judge Parker or the Democratic party which will lead us to expect improvement?

The whole trend of his public utterances seems to be intended to please and not to offend. It is rudimentary that one who tries to please everybody will please no one. You do not see in Mr. Parker what the world sees in Cleveland, Bryan, and Roosevelt. These men are men of principle. Their every act is in accordance with their convictions. They are men who are not afraid to "do things." When the famous gold telegram was sent to the St. Louis Convention, I was of the opinion that Parker, too, was such a man; but when I think that he voted for Mr. Bryan in 1896, when free silver was the paramount issue of the campaign, and when I read his speeches of to-day, I am compelled to put aside that opinion.

As President of the United States, I do not want a man that may be "hauled to wind" every time there is a change in the direction of the breeze. I do not want a man as President of the United States who does not know what his convictions are. Above all, I do not want substituted in the affairs of state a government by a coterie, among whom perchance will appear David B. Hill, William F. Sheehan, and P. H. McCarren, in the place of statesmen like John Hay, Philander C. Knox, and William H. Taft. Nor do I want any one as President who must have as his adviser the man

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who now seems to be the chief personal adviser of Judge Parker, the man who spent his earlier political days in Buffalo, and who attempted to build a political machine of western New York that for viciousness would have had Tammany Hall in the days of Tweed "beaten into a shapeless crust." No; rather than that give me Theodore Roosevelt, with all his *alleged* fire and powder, as the much safer and saner man to whom to intrust the interests of the country.

MYRON M. LUDLOW, JR.

PROTECTIONISM CONDEMNED

To the Editors of The Outlook:

When the Morrill Tariff Law was passed, the trade of the Nation was controlled by natural citizens, not by corporations, or fictitious citizens created by law; but corporations being peculiarly adapted to take advantage of the protection policy and at the same time impose all the burdens incident thereto upon natural citizens, the growth and development of the corporate system was stimulated. Corporations were organized in the United States at a very early date for the purpose of building turnpikes, bridges, and otherwise promoting the public welfare.

A special act of legislation was at first necessary in order to create a corporation whereby the resources of many were to be aggregated into an efficient capital under a competent management for the accomplishment of some useful purpose. But the purposes, powers, and duties of each corporation were carefully scrutinized and rigidly restricted by the legislative, executive, and judicial branches of the Government, to the end that the rights of natural citizens might not be trespassed upon by these fictitious citizens. The adoption and development of the protective policy by the National Government forced the States to become more and more lenient toward these artificially created citizens. A "protected" corporation has from the first been able to drive its natural-born competitors to the wall. The natural and inevitable consequence has been that the business interests of the country have passed into the control of those fictitious citizens.

Corporations are the only direct beneficiaries of the policy of protection. They harvest the fruits of the industries of the Nation, and, thanks to the policy of protection, they are enabled to enhance the prices for their products, thereby taking a little at a time, all the time, from all the people; and then they distribute the harvest. But their method of distribution is to make multimillionaires of the few "who toil not," and patronizingly to dole out to those whose toil has created the wealth they rejoice in the smallest share thereof that can be given without precipitating a "strike."

The Republicans claim that this system, which diverts the wealth of the Nation to the pockets of the few, constitutes the basis of our National growth and prosperity. In other words, they claim, as all advocates of a strong centralization of power have always claimed, that although the people may be industrious and intelligent enough to create great wealth, yet they would not be truly blest and prosperous if the wealth created were not harvested and controlled by the few for their benefit.

On the other hand, the Democratic platform declares that "Protection is robbery," and the Democratic candidates, recognizing that the evil has sent its roots too deep to be ruthlessly torn up, says that it must be cured by a gradual process.

RALPH W. BARTLETT.

Boston, Massachusetts.

THE UNITED STATES AND SOUTH AMERICAN REPUBLICS

To the Editors of The Outlook:

The Democratic platform declares that "we ought to do for the Filipinos what we have done already for the Cubans."

The United States and Cuba have mutually agreed that Cuban independence is conditioned on the right of the United States to intervene for the maintenance of a government adequate for the proper discharge of the constitutional functions and obligations of Cuba; that Cuba shall never contract any debt beyond the capacities of the ordinary revenues of the island to take care of. Subject to these conditions, the United States guarantees Cuba against foreign intervention. That the Democratic party approves this policy is shown by its declaration in favor of the same principle for the Philippines.

Is not this the essence of the Monroe Doctrine? Is it wrong, then, to expect or to require that all South and Central American republics shall justly discharge all their obligations of an international character as a condition to the benefits of the Monroe Doctrine, securing them against foreign aggression upon their territory or sovereignty?

How, then, can the President be called a "debt collector for European nations" when he merely lays down the principle (followed in the case of Venezuela) that the United States will secure these republics against foreign territorial or governmental aggression, but will first require these republics to meet honorably their international obligations of whatever kind which may offer an excuse or reason for such foreign interference? If the United States, by the practice of the Monroe Doctrine, stands in the way of any seizure of territory or political control by European nations, is it not a necessary corollary that the United States may require a proper discharge, by these republics, of those international obligations the violation of which, by the custom of nations, might lead to seizure of territory or political control?

If this be the right principle, as written in our agreement with Cuba, and as approved in the Democratic platform (as above cited), what fault then can be found with the President's language or policy relating to the South American Republics?

Jacksonville, Illinois. JAS. H. DANSKIN.

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